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EDWARD HAROLD BROWNE, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

AND PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE
ORDER OF THE GARTER.

A MEMOIR,

BY G. W. KITCHIN, D.D.,

DEAN OF DURHAM.

... ἐν τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν, οὐδ' αὐτὸ τὸ κατὰστημα μεγάλη
μαθητεία, ἥ δὲ πραότης αὐτοῦ δύναμις· ὃν λογίζομαι καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους
εὐτρέπεσθαι ἀγαπῶντας [ὡς οὐ φείδεται ἑαυτοῦ.]

IGNATII *Ep. ad Trall.*, c. iii.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1895.

P R E F A C E.

WHEN, at the request of the late Bishop of Winchester's family, I undertook to write this Memoir of our dear and honoured friend, my heart was far from light. Apart from the very heavy responsibility which must ever rest on one who tries to interpret the nature and life of a man of mark, I had a special cause for anxiety in the knowledge that to many I must seem, as indeed to myself I often seemed, unfitted for so serious a task. Nor was it long before this feeling found expression. "The selection," said the Occasional Note of one of the weekly papers, "is not altogether satisfactory to many of the late Prelate's friends, who are of opinion that a Cambridge man ought to have been chosen." And yet the worst was not told; an Oxford man writing a Cambridge man's life may be, as the Article says, "an anomaly"; but what shall we say to a Broad Churchman dealing with the problems of a High Churchman's mind? a liberal in politics with those of a person instinctively conservative? a Dean with the story of a Bishop's activities? The more I thought of it, the deeper was my

sense of obligation to those who so indulgently, in spite of these great divergences, pressed me to undertake the task ; the more I was determined to accept their proposal in a spirit of watchfulness against myself. It is his life, not my colouring of it, which is the essential matter ; his view of things, not my private sentiments, which had to be portrayed. And, after all, there was a large common ground. I had known and honoured the Bishop from his professorial days at Cambridge, some forty years ago ; I had been entrusted with the education of three of his sons ; even when I had become the Dean of his Cathedral no breath of variance had ever severed us. Above all, I felt strong in the support I received from Mrs. Harold Browne in my effort to depict the singular beauty of his life and character : and if she was not displeased, I cared little for the rest. My aim has been to do justice to one of the truest representatives of the Church of England ; to a man who could with equal dignity and simplicity sit by the bedside of a dying cottager or stand in the presence of kings. The mainspring of his power was the love of Christ his Lord and Friend.

His was a long and consistent life of faith and practice answering thereto. As Horace says of the iambic line, in all his career he was "*Primus ad extremum similis sibi* ;" the exact rhythm of his eighty years of sojourn here below was saved from monotony by the harmonies which penetrated alike his home-life and his public career. Truthful, faithful, and fearless, he bore himself bravely and placidly in the storm and stress of our time, and has left behind him an example which must be helpful for us,

as we strive to adapt the English Church to the new requirements of these later days.

I owe heartfelt thanks to Mrs. Harold Browne and Miss Gore Browne for their invariable kindness and help ; not least, for their goodness in relieving me from the task of compiling the Index to this volume. I must also express my obligation to many friends of the Bishop, who have thrown much light on his acts and character. I wish I could have made the book as good and interesting as it ought to be ; it falls far short ; yet I have done my best, such as it is, and dedicate this effort to his ever-cherished memory.

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTORY

1811—1853.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
PARENTAGE AND YOUTH	3

CHAPTER II.

HOLY ORDERS AND PARISH WORK	41
---------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER III.

VICE-PRINCIPAL OF LAMPETER COLLEGE	76
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

VICAR OF KENWYN AND KEA	102
-----------------------------------	-----

BOOK II.

1853—1863.

CHAPTER I.

NORRISIAN PROFESSOR	PAGE 165
-------------------------------	-------------

CHAPTER II.

THE TROUBLES IN THE CHURCH : "ESSAYS AND REVIEWS ;"	
BISHOP COLENZO	200

CHAPTER III.

LIFE AND WORK IN CAMBRIDGE, 1853—1864	224
---	-----

BOOK III.

ELY.

1864—1874.

CHAPTER I.

APPOINTMENT AND ADMINISTRATION	247
--	-----

CHAPTER II.

BISHOP COLENZO, AND THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOP TEMPLE	290
---	-----

CHAPTER III.

ORGANISATION OF THE DIOCESE	337
---------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER IV.

LATER YEARS IN THE DIOCESE OF ELY	363
---	-----

BOOK IV.

WINCHESTER.

1874—1891.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
APPOINTMENT	393

CHAPTER II.

THE ANGLO-CONTINENTAL SOCIETY, AND THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM	407
--	-----

CHAPTER III.

THEOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES AT WINCHESTER	420
--	-----

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION AT WINCHESTER, 1873—1890	443
---	-----

CHAPTER V.

RESIGNATION AND DEATH	484
---------------------------------	-----

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAIT	<i>Frontispiece</i>
KENWYN CHURCHYARD	<i>To face p. 114</i>
THE EAST ANGLIAN PRELATES	" 282
THE BISHOP IN HIS STUDY, FARNHAM	" 460

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INTRODUCTORY.

SOON after I had promised to write this Memoir of Bishop Harold Browne, I received the following note, which I desire to inscribe on the forefront of this volume : —“ We should wish the more clerical and episcopal work of our dear one to be the prominent characteristic of his Life ; he had such a wonderful talent for organising work, and for bringing laymen and clergy together, and making peace, that anything bringing this forward would be perhaps the most valuable.”

The late Bishop was by habitual manner of thought, by natural kindliness and sweetness of disposition, by education and by the force of his surroundings, a man of peace. He knew his own mind,—no one better ; his principles, if somewhat wanting in breadth and largeness, were intelligible, coherent, logical ; he moved in a well-marked middle course, ceaselessly mediating between those whose temperaments carried them into one extreme or other ; and he was therefore always open to the adverse criticism of more impatient souls.

Men of power may be broadly divided into two classes : first, those who through life are open to the impressions of

the day,—inductive souls, ever ready to add to the stock of their knowledge, to test their convictions, to modify their judgments ; and, secondly, those who early in their career grasp some general principles, and use them throughout life as bases unshakable, to which they can always resort, and by which they judge all questions as they arise : these men steady themselves on *a priori* principles, major premises unalterable, laid down as solid foundations on which belief and life are built. The more inductive minds, on the other hand, sensitive to the changes of tone and feeling around them, seem often to be swayed by the current of events ; they get the credit of being unstable, “ever learning, never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.” Their openness of mind, their honesty of purpose—qualities of the highest worth, and rarely met with—naturally make them distasteful to good average people, who cannot appreciate their sympathetic and broad way of regarding things ; to the thoughtless, and to the conventional, who are only the thoughtless well developed, they seem quite unintelligible, visionaries, who, unsettled themselves, would readily unsettle all around them. The more conservative minds are either puzzled by them, or have them in horror.

Men of deductive minds, the other class, when they are also men of strong qualities, gain great power over their generation, alike by force and by limitation of character ; the fact that they have laid down their bases of controversy, and fearlessly follow their convictions, lead them whither they may, secures for them the respect and admiration of the world. In a fluctuating, uncertain Society, they are felt to be firmly rooted in their principles ; we turn to them with hope and with a sense of relief,

when doubtful questions rise and the world as it rolls along seems near a crisis. These men set out their views early in life with incisive clearness, seeing what they see without confusion or complexity ; they follow a well-marked, coherent course all their days. No wonder that they are most highly respected. The more impatient spirits are, it may be, somewhat chafed by them ; but they win the confidence of the multitude. If they are masterful and ambitious, they become strong party-leaders ; if they are gentle and retiring, they are mediators and peace-makers, and often have to pay the penalty of those who take and commend the middle course ; for they arouse the anger and scorn of the eager and vehement ; though, in the end, all recognise them as benefactors, and acknowledge the good work they have done.

Our Bishop, in the main, was one of these last. His disposition enabled him to sympathise with many with whom he did not agree. His eminent fairness, his soundness of judgment, his perfectly clear intellect, above all, his Christian charity, won for him the affection of thousands who knew nothing about his views, and would have differed from them fundamentally had they known them. It was one of the permanent sorrows of his long life, that there should be so many good and lovable Christian people with whom he could not act in harmony. It is not often the case, but in him it was so,—that in true dignity and nobleness his character was higher than his principles. Those principles tended towards a certain narrowness and limitation of relationships, and prompted him to stand aloof from those, however good, who did not come up to his standard, whether of orthodoxy or of

Church government ; and yet so loving and so charitable was he, that he refrained from pushing his principles to their logical conclusions. He loved his fellow-creatures as he loved God ; and was content to hope even where he was unable to feel assured. And so, while happily he never sought to be a party-leader, his influence over the opinions and actions of others was always great and wholesome : men felt that here was a genuine Christian spirit, moving with a dignified simplicity through the mazes of the world ; they discerned something of the character and impress of Him who stilled the tumult of the sea.

BOOK I.

1811—1853.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE AND YOUTH.

EDWARD HAROLD BROWNE was born on the 6th of March, 1811, at Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, where his parents had been settled for several years past. It was an Anglo-Irish, not a Celtic family, a branch of the Brownes of the Neale; they claimed descent from Sir Anthony Browne, K.G., standard-bearer to Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and one of the executors of the latter king.

Early last century Bishop Harold Browne's great-grandfather, Mr. John Browne, lived on a good estate in County Wicklow. This property, with the profusion and easy-going carelessness of an Anglo-Irish landlord, he ate up entirely in the course of his life; and this, as is not unfrequently the case, with excellent results. For his son Thomas, our Bishop's grandfather, a handsome man of great energy and of a wholesome independence of character, saw that after idleness work must follow, and resolutely set himself to stay the imminent downfall of the family. He therefore became an architect, with so much success that he not only provided comfortably for himself and his children, but was able also to come to the help of his poor thriftless father, whom he bravely supported with all filial piety during the last years of his life, in spite of the scriptural precept to the contrary.

The architect had four sons: Robert; William, a barrister; Gore, afterwards General and Governor of Plymouth; and lastly, Thomas, Vice-Admiral. Of these the eldest, Robert, was the father of our Bishop. He was born in 1754, and, after being educated for the Bar, at the age of twenty-one married the beautiful Mrs. Barrington, General Barrington's widow. She was nearly twice his age, and brought him no children, but died after nine years of wedded life, spent for the most part in France.

Bishop Barrington of Durham, a kinsman of his wife, befriended the young Irishman, and brought him under the notice of the Marquis of Buckingham, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Buckingham treated Mr. Browne with much favour, and when he left Ireland, persuaded him to follow him to England. He also secured him a post about the King's person, and got him a commission in the Bucks Militia, in which service he presently rose to be Colonel. While his regiment was quartered at Weymouth, he became acquainted with the family of Mr. Gabriel Steward, M.P., of Nottingham and Melcombe in the county of Dorset, and on June 10th, 1795, was married to Sarah Dorothea, second daughter of Mr. Steward.

Shortly after his marriage, Colonel Browne bought a house in Aylesbury. In those days it was called "Aylesbury House," but is now styled "The Prebendal," because it was formerly attached to the prebendal stall of Aylesbury in Lincoln Cathedral. Here, and afterwards at Morton House, near Buckingham, he lived for about forty years. He was a man of ample means, fine presence, and courtly manners, much liked and respected in those parts; he was made Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant for the county.

Colonel Browne was father of five children, two

daughters and three sons, of whom the youngest was Edward Harold, the future Bishop of Ely and of Winchester. Of the two daughters who came before the sons, the elder, Louisa, was an invalid from her childhood ; the younger, Maria, outlived the Bishop by a few weeks, retaining to the close of her long and beautiful life the grace, sweetness, and bright intelligence of her youth. Some souls never grow old, and bear their years as a crown of glory ; they seem to have a hidden power over the frames in which they lodge. Maria Browne was a girl of fourteen when the future Bishop was born into the world ; from his birth to the end of his life she dedicated herself to him with a sister's love and almost a mother's devotion. It began with the tenderest care and affection in the Aylesbury days, and by slow, almost imperceptible degrees changed in character, though it remained unchanged in depth and warmth. At first she was his protector, his teacher and adviser ; in later life she became his most devoted and reverential admirer and follower. Nothing could surpass the beauty of the daily life led by this couple, so deeply attached to one another, so inseparable ; "she came to look up to him," says one who had the opportunity of watching their daily life, "with a love that was truly reverential, which deepened and strengthened as time went on, until hand in hand at last they crossed the bar."

When Edward Harold Browne was born in 1811, all things in England were well-nigh at their worst. Napoleon was at the height of his power, bestriding Europe ; Wellington, his great reputation as yet unmade, lay in the lines of Torres Vedras ; English home politics were dark and uneasy ; the old King was again threatened by mental trouble. Men's hearts must have sunk within them when they thought of the genius of the French Emperor and

the vast resources at his command. To the English his potent ideas seemed like the breath of a volcano before the breaking of a storm of doom ; the instinctive conservatism of our insular race regarded Napoleon, his power and his ideas, as a kind of incarnation of blasphemy, religious and political. It was into this troubled and anxious life Edward Harold Browne was born, at the Prebendal House in Aylesbury.

Here, shielded by the devoted care of parents and sister, the delicate boy spent a happy and peaceful childhood, surrounded by all the blessings that loving hearts could give. It was when he was only three years old that the first incident in his life which has been preserved took place. [Not far from Aylesbury, at Hartwell, the exiled King of France, Louis XVIII., with his amiable consort and a tiny Court, had settled down, watching in the twilight of a not unpleasing retirement the progress of the vast drama then being enacted on the Continent of Europe. At Hartwell, Colonel Browne, who had lived some years in France and spoke French with ease, was a welcome and frequent guest. One day the King expressed a wish to see the little Harold ; and accordingly, at his next visit, the child accompanied his courteous father to Hartwell. As they entered the room in which Louis, who at this time was enormously fat and flabby, was seated awaiting his guests, Colonel Browne whispered to his little son, " Now go up and kiss his Majesty's hand ; " whereon the child, after one glance at the monarch in his chair, looked up earnestly into his father's face, and said out loud, with the clear voice of an unconscious infant, perfectly audible to the astonished King, " No, father, I can't ; it's too fat."] It cannot be said that, however well seen he was in high places in after life, his first presentation at Court was an unalloyed success, except perhaps in so far as it

enabled a monarch to hear that rare thing, the truth, out of the mouth of a babe. The child's revolt against the fatness of the King did not create any coolness in the friendship which existed between the royal exiles and Colonel Browne's family ; among the heirlooms which the Bishop cherished in after years are two engraved portraits, the one of Louis XVIII. and the other of the Duchess of Angoulême, which were sent to the Prebendal House by the grateful royalties after their return to France.

When he was between eight and nine years of age Harold was sent to a school at Warfield, in which young lads were prepared for Eton. This school, kept by Mr. Faithfull, was very strict and hard ; yet the little lad did well there, and Mr. Faithfull used to say that he was "the best boy in the school." The child-life at Aylesbury remained for him a fond and cherished memory to the very end of his days. In a letter to his dear friend Bishop McDougall he tells him that the Duke of Buckingham, who had paid him a visit at Farnham Castle, had "engaged us to spend the Sunday on our way to Carlisle at Stowe. I shall like," he adds, "to revisit scenes which were like fairyland to me in boyhood." (September 8th, 1884.)

We learn that at this first school "little Harry," as his kinsfolk lovingly called him, showed a clearness and quickness of intelligence which gave promise of great future excellence. These qualities, in truth, after having stood in his way in his schooldays, became most helpful to him afterwards. His quickness both tempted him to idleness and made him impatient of dulness and drudgery. He found the work of teaching very irksome. He reversed the usual order of things ; for his pupils were much more appreciative of the lucid order, the clearness, the fine scholarship and transparent earnestness of their gentle

tutor than he was of the privilege of arousing and guiding their somewhat apathetic minds. This is why, in an age when, thanks to Dr. Arnold's great example, the most eager and open-minded of the young men sent forth from the Universities were turning their whole energies into the new field of school work, yearning to carry forward the new gospel of "moral earnestness" and "high-thinking," Harold Browne deliberately turned his face away from scholastic openings, refused tempting offers, and dedicated himself heart and soul to the study of Theology, and especially to that which was nearest his heart all the days of his life, the earnest fulfilment of the duties of a parish priest.

In 1823, a slim and gentle boy of twelve, Harold Browne was transferred from Warfield to the larger life of Eton. Here he remained for four years. The School Lists of that period show that the College contained a remarkable gathering of boys destined to play a part in their country's history. In 1826, a year before he left Eton, Harold Browne's name appears about halfway up the middle division (for he never rose to school-eminence), and the name next below him is that of the well-known Christ Church tutor, W. E. Jelf. The same list shows, among the seniors of the school, the great name of Mr. Gladstone. It contains also that of the late Duke of Devonshire, a man whose high powers were equalled only by the kindness and genuine nobility of his personal character. There were also two future Governors-General of India, Elgin and Canning, and the late Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies in Lord Palmerston's Ministry of 1859-65, with other men of note, such as Mr. Spencer Walpole, Home Secretary under Lord Derby, Mr. Ricardo, Lord Blachford, and Sir George Rickards. In addition to these statesmen and politicians there were

also men destined to make their mark in the Church, foremost among whom was Selwyn, Bishop first of New Zealand and afterwards of Lichfield, of whom Harold Browne, in his last public speech at the Diocesan Conference at Winchester, spoke warmly, calling him "one of the greatest Bishops this Church of England has ever known." There stands also the name of Lord Arthur Hervey, whose recent death has deprived the diocese of Bath and Wells of a much-loved Bishop; and the original and vigorous Bishop Abraham, first Bishop of Wellington, New Zealand, one of our Bishop's closest friends, who is still living in a ripe old age. To these should be added the late Bishop of Tuam, Dr. Bernard; the Rev. George Williams,—*"Jerusalem Williams"* as he used to be called; and Dr. Goodford, Headmaster afterwards and Provost of Eton. There were also some men of letters, though none of the highest rank of authorship, such as Lord Lindsay, author of the *"History of Christian Art"* (1847); Mr. M. J. Higgins, better known as *"Jacob Omnium"*; Mr. J. H. Jesse, the historical writer; Latham, the etymologist; C. D. Yonge, the lexicographer; and Dr. Badham, who edited Greek plays. Among these we may very well place, for he came into close and daily connection with Harold Browne, the celebrated actor, Charles Kean.

Very few of these are still living. It is consequently difficult to fill up the picture of our Bishop's school-days, or to reproduce the delicate, sensitive boy, who had already begun to outgrow his strength. One, however, of his old friends still retains a vivid recollection of those early days; for Bishop Abraham, writing from Lichfield a short time ago, says:—

"I had the good fortune to be in the same Dame's house at Eton in 1824, and we had the same tutor, that dear good man, Bishop Chapman. Edward Harold

Browne was a quiet, retiring, high-principled boy ; and there was he plunged into a house which, without being at all ungentlemanlike, was rather Bohemian. Only fancy a knot of boys where Charles Kean, the actor, was supreme in the school of arms and the school of arts. He kept us all alive. He was the best boxer and fencer in the school ; accordingly all the aspirants to excellence in these departments came to our Dame's to learn fencing and boxing, and in the evening we youngsters had lessons. But then also he was supreme in the 'School of Art,'—that art being acting ; and he would act for our amusement. Woe betide us if we laughed when we should have cried, or failed to catch and applaud his best 'hits' ! Charles Kean was a very good-humoured fellow, and was very kind to us. And then Harold Browne had a peculiar position towards him ; he was more of the same age and place in school, and if Kean was his tutor in boxing and acting, Browne could repay him as tutor by construing the 'Homer' and 'Horace' lessons to him, and by doing numberless verses for him. Therefore, while I and others were admitted to the 'Galleries' in the improvised theatre, Browne had a ticket for pit or boxes. Anything that now seems more incongruous could hardly be imagined than the life that went on for Harold Browne's first year at Eton ; but then he passed from the Dame's house to my tutor's, which was the most orderly and studious house in College. It must have felt like passing out of the 'still-vest Bermoothes' into the Gulf Stream.

"But one trait that he showed at the Dame's he no doubt retained at his tutor's, and it was recognised in all his after life—that was his *goodness*. I can bear witness to his thorough simplicity and singleness of character all along."

It may be gathered from this glimpse of the Bishop's boyhood at Eton that he was not on the road towards any brilliant success ; nor did he look back on the time with that enthusiasm with which elderly men speak of their old school and review their happy, careless boyhood. Indeed, as he surveyed it from the secure vantage-ground of high reputation and accumulated honours, and with the long experience of actual life, he felt keenly the

waste of opportunities, and consequent loss of power. No man ever worked harder to repair that loss and to make good the gaps in his early training. Some men work to the end and are ever learning, and our Bishop was one of these. With his linguistic gifts and power of ordering and expressing knowledge, and his trustworthy, tenacious memory, he probably repaired the waste as well as any one has ever done. And yet, in the judgment of one specially well qualified to have an opinion on the point, the Eton days were by no means a complete failure. Writing in 1845 to ask Mr. Browne to preach his consecration sermon, his Eton tutor, Dr. Chapman, just appointed Bishop of Colombo, speaks of him as "so esteemed a pupil in former days," and he certainly would not have so written had Harold Browne been a mere idle, gentlemanly boy. Still, it is certain that the easy-going ways of school and college were a real source of regret to him in after-life, and were ever deplored by him with a beautiful frankness and humility. And yet it is also true that the idleness, so largely caused by weakness of health, had its advantages. The specially English notion that at a public school and in college a man learns more from his friends and amusements than from his tutors and masters, if rarely true, was as nearly true as it ever has been in his case. For his mind was finely built, and had the quality which Spenser gives to Una: he could walk uprightly in a careless world; his pure heart assimilated only what was good and true; so that the time spent under Charles Kean's friendly eye, though it may not have advanced the elegance of his Latin verse, or drenched him, like Erasmus' Pedant, in Ciceronian phrase, and though it tempted the boy to be often content with superficial preparations, still was in itself an education of a high kind. It is a great thing to kindle the dramatic instincts of a boy; it was a revelation to the shy and

somewhat silent lad to discover, by help of Kean's genius, that plays are bright gems of language and true works of art,—not merely so many hundred lines of dull poetry to be deciphered and rendered into baldest prose. The hints and interpretations with which Kean favoured his young comrade must have thrown a flood of light on many a difficulty, illuminating the quickly receptive mind of the future Bishop. Throughout his life Harold Browne retained an innocent and antiseptic sense of humour; and he saw, as few schoolboys ever see, the comical contrasts which come into the way of those who have eyes to see. There is one example of the manner in which he recognised the queerly inverted view of the value of things which prevails at school. There was an old "sock-woman" who used to sell tarts at the College gates, and if her wares did not go off to her mind, she used in set manner to harangue the youths as they came out of school, on the relative merits of her tarts compared with those dry crusts which they had been munching in pupil room or school. "Now, boys," she would cry to the merry circle round her stall, "come, buy some of my sock; how you do waste your money! You go and buy books, and when you have read them, there's an end of it; or spend it on a row on the river, and then it's soon over; but if you buy a little good sock, why, that's something solid, that does a boy good!" The Bishop used to narrate the old lady's oration with a twinkle in his eye and the keenest relish of the lively scene.

It is probable that his kindly humour, which made him excellent company, formed a wholesome antidote against the forced solemnity of life which is often a snare to one who is surrounded by the ceremonial of episcopal state. The Bishop's face, to the very end of his life, was wont to light up with merriment if any one alluded to his boyish

friendship with the great actor. If children were in the room—and he could never resist children—he would delight to show them how Kean taught him at Eton to put a paper skirt on two of his fingers, and then would imitate on a table, amid the merry laughter of the little ones, the graceful dances and pirouettes of the ballet girl.

Harold Browne also acquired in his school days a power of the highest value to a man immersed, as he was, in continual business. He learned how to attend to two things at once; so that while he was working at his books or, later on, preparing a sermon or a charge, he could follow and even take active part in the conversation going on around him in the room. As he bent over his copy of verses or translations in his room at Eton, while Kean stood by reciting and declaiming passages from his favourite tragedians, Browne would work on with unclouded mind and unruffled temper, looking up from time to time with a smile or an appreciative nod, or answering briefly and pertinently to some appeal from his enthusiastic friend.

It was when he was just about half way through his school days that his loving mother—surely one of the sweetest and best of women—wrote of him on the 6th of September, 1826 (he was then fifteen years old, and at home for his summer holidays): “I must not omit to say that I think Harold is sweeter than ever, so amiable and obliging to every one, and amuses himself so nicely that it is quite delightful. Chemistry is at present his great delight.” He never let us know that he had pursued this fascinating branch of physical study, though it explains how he got many of his best illustrations. No doubt this enthusiasm for chemistry was but a passing phase, an interesting expression of that general keenness and relish for knowledge

of any kind which marks the development of the mind of every quick-witted and gifted boy.

So passed his school life, side by side with a youth destined to win fame on a very different stage ; the one boy doing the verses and translations for the other, who repaid him fourfold with brilliant declamations and friendly enthusiasm for art and poetry. So far as school work went the two boys helped and hindered each other every day. Thus happily in school and study, by road or river, passed the bright Eton days, in which, though from lack of physical health and strength he was far from being a school hero, he won the goodwill of all. After four years of it his parents thought it wisest that he should leave Eton and break with the habits of school-life, and obtain a quiet year of direct and serious preparation for Cambridge. He had passed smoothly and rather listlessly through these halcyon days, in which he shot up rapidly, till he was over six feet in stature ; he spent so much vital energy in the process of growth, that there was little of it left for lessons. In 1883 the aged Bishop, after a visit to Eton, thus refers to his delicacy of constitution in youth :—" I had outlived most of my contemporaries. It is sixty years since I went there, a fragile boy, twelve years old ; for some years after that hardly expected to grow up to manhood." Like all public school boys, he cherished throughout his life a deep-seated pride in Eton, and, with his usual humility, blamed not the lax and antiquated system of the school, but his own idleness, for his shortcomings during these years.

His farewell to Eton impressed itself deeply on his mind, and he loved to tell the tale of the Headmaster's last speech to him. Every boy leaving Eton, as is well known, was expected, in obedience to school usage and tradition, to call on the Headmaster to take leave of him,

and to bring with him in his hand (in accordance with an ancient custom now happily no longer in force) a paper or envelope containing a couple of £5 bank-notes. As a rule, after a boy had placed this leaving-tip on the Headmaster's table, and had received in return the finely-bound volume which in after years was to remind him of those happy days, he retired as speedily and gracefully as he could from the uncomfortable interview, glad that he had got through the heartless and expensive formality. But what was Harold Browne's astonishment (he used to tell the story, his face brimming over with amusement) when he had duly presented himself with his offering, and was endeavouring to escape out of the dread presence of the Headmaster, to find himself solemnly addressed by Dr. Keate with, "Go back to your Dame's, boy ; and, when you leave, if I find you wringing off knockers or painting doors, I'll have you back, sir, and flog you !" And with this queer piece of fatherly advice the future Bishop, as much amused as astonished, at last made his escape from the room, and saw the mighty pedagogue no more.

The omnipotent birch-rod reminds us of a little story of the Bishop's school days. When he had been for some time at Eton, a senior boy asked him, "How often have you been swished ?" "Not once," was the reply in proud humility. "Oh ! how long have you been here ?" Harold replied, "Just eighteen months." "Humph ! then you ought to be ashamed of yourself."

He was now sent to a very different scene and to a life the opposite of that which he had just been leading. Instead of the teeming school, the lively games in playing fields, the fascinations of the river, the companionship of Charles Kean and Shakespeare, there came a time of absolutely serious quietude. His tutor and guide was the Rev. R. Holt, who prepared one or two pupils for the Uni-

versity at a lovely spot called Postford House, about a mile from Albury, nestling under the south side of the Downs which run from Guildford to Reigate. Postford House stands on a little hill not far from the high road, overlooking a picturesque sedgy mere, beyond which stretch chequered woodlands, rising and falling on the undulating ground, and backed up in the distance by the long line of chalk hills. Not far from Postford lay the village of Albury, with a tiny parish church close to the fine mansion belonging to Mr. Henry Drummond, now the seat of the Duke of Northumberland. With the waving sedges below, and woodlands, hills, and glimpses of the mere, the view from Postford windows was as lovely as only an English country scene can be.

Here beside Harold Browne there were two or three other pupils, of whom one was a youth who afterwards made for himself a considerable reputation by publishing a kind of modern Book of Proverbs, Mr. Martin Farquhar Tupper, author of a "Proverbial Philosophy" which ran through several editions. The Bishop has left us no information as to the terms on which he lived with the embryo philosopher; though the two were undoubtedly thrown much together during their year at Postford, it is fairly certain that no warm boyish friendship sprang up between them. Mr. Tupper in "My Life as Author," published in 1886, has only this very short reference to Harold Browne, a reference which however gives us just a touch of the school-boy temper still strong in the boys:—

"I changed to Mr. Holt's at Albury, a most worthy friend and neighbour, with whom I read diligently for my matriculation at Oxford, when I was about nineteen. With Holt my intimate comrade was Harold Browne, the present Bishop of Winchester, and he will remember that

it was our mischievous object to get beyond Mr. Holt in our prepared Aristotle and Plato, as we knew that he had hard work to keep even in the race with his advanced pupils by dint of midnight oil."

Harold Browne's recollections of Postford are far more grave than this; for in those days he received his first strong impressions of religion and of the seriousness of life. Early in this century all earnestness and advance in religion was concentrated either in the active Wesleyan body or in the Low Church movement, then in the first flush of growing enthusiasm. The sensitive lad, with his naturally religious and thoughtful temperament, could not fail to be deeply touched and influenced by his surroundings.

"I have reason to thank God," he writes, "that I was sent there. My mother was a sincere and humble Christian, full of the most devoted affection to her children, and had done her best to bring them all up as Christians. My knowledge of religious subjects, however, was not great; and at Eton I had gained a full share of the idle habits of the school. At Postford I was in the house of a truly pious man; his sister, Miss Holt, was one of the best of women; and the rector of the parish of Albury, which church we always attended (though it was not the parish church of Postford), was the Rev. Hugh McNeile. I was greatly struck, as a boy of sixteen, with his fervid eloquence, and altogether impressed with the religious tone of the society into which I was thrown."

His mother's letters show how deep an impression the Calvinistic (or perhaps one should say the Augustinian) theology, which the young man heard Sunday after Sunday from the pulpit of Albury Church, made at that time on his sensitive and receptive mind. On a temperament naturally religious, somewhat introspective, and altogether earnest and honest, Mr. McNeile's teaching, backed up as it was by the sweet zeal and goodness of his tutor's sister, fell with great power and influence: the zealous

pastor himself, noticing the good motions of the young man's mind, his gravity, sincerity, and evident seeking after truth, paid him some friendly attentions, and for the time completely won his heart and confidence.

"He has," writes his mother, "studied very closely since he left us . . . on religious subjects, and has imbibed much of Mr. McNeile's enthusiasm, and I fear too much of his *High* doctrine not to be dangerous for so young a person, and one of his turn of mind; if not so to himself, it may be so to those he may in future have to instruct, should he continue as intolerant as he is at present."

One can hardly picture to oneself the sweet and charitable Bishop of later days thus embracing the stern and unloving Calvinistic theology, though one knows that whatever doctrines commended themselves to his heart and intelligence he would fearlessly proclaim and defend, were the deductions from them ever so intolerant. Mrs. Browne goes on :—

"To me he is all sweetness, and where I cannot go quite as far as he does, I will not contradict; but I am convinced much may be done even to the hardened sinner by mildness, whereas even the anxious enquirer may be frightened and disgusted, when these very high doctrines of election, etc., are so strongly held and pressed; and I am very fearful they may (whilst he is so young) be injurious to himself. The Almighty, who knows all my thoughts, knows that my most earnest prayers and wishes are that my beloved son may be a faithful minister of the gospel, and by the mildness, and at the same time the correctness, of his doctrine, be the means of doing good to all those committed to his charge. And I do hope and trust that when he has studied these subjects a little longer, and is a little older [he was then but seventeen], if he has the good fortune to fall into the society of some wise and good man whose experience on these subjects he will have an opinion of, his may be softened down without injury to him as a good Christian. His spirits are not high, and he is constitutionally nervous to a great degree. I am

therefore afraid of his dwelling on these very high doctrines, till he has acquired more strength of mind and body ; and then it will be his duty to search and enquire strictly into them, and I would wish him to do so."

She goes on to beg her daughter to discourage much religious discussion at the time ; and, by way of apology for such sensible advice, she adds that :—

"Nothing but the perfect conviction that my treasure of a child's nerves are not in a state at present to dwell on the higher doctrines could make me wish what I have above requested."

Again, writing a fortnight later (August 21st, 1828), she refers once more to his health and religious anxieties :—

"He is frightfully delicate," she says, "but sweet and affectionate as ever. . . . I think you know how truly anxious I am that he should be a zealous and active clergyman, desirous faithfully to fulfil all his duties. This makes me more than ever alive to the necessity that he should truly understand the Word of God, and not suffer the enthusiastic turn of his mind to lead him into error, which may be injurious to himself, and perhaps to some of his hearers so perplexing, that instead of leading them to Heaven it may drive them to despair. . . . I am very fearful for his dwelling so much on Election and Predestination, and professing himself so strongly to be a Calvinist. . . . At his tender years his head may lead him astray—though I think it is one that, if he is not too bigoted, may be likely to do much good. . . . With respect to his study of the Prophecies, it is an amusement to him and will do no harm, except that I think his dear head requires rest. I am afraid Harry so much admires Mr. McNeile's manner, that he will endeavour to follow it."

From these letters it is plain enough that Harold Browne, in common with almost every man of religious feeling in those days, came more or less under the influence, intellectual and spiritual, of the Evangelical school of thought. It was the active and forward school of that day ; the reaction from it as yet had hardly begun. Those

are fortunate whom a new stream of opinion catches and carries onward as on a rising tide. And this good fortune came to Harold Browne. After University life had dulled the edge of his first enthusiasm, he became aware of a very different set of the currents. With the new appeals to antiquity and the respect for ordinances shewn by the rising party, he contrasted the lack of solid learning, the somewhat narrow range of ideas, the slight hold on Church order and institutions, evident in the Evangelical leaders : though their zeal and earnestness were undoubted, their system seemed to him insufficient. And so he soon drifted away entirely from those early teachers, while his comrade at Postford, Mr. Tupper, remained all through life firmly fixed in the principles he had learnt under Mr. Holt and Mr. McNeile. We catch a glimpse of the distance which separated the two in after life at a moment when the layman, whose Philosophy did not altogether sweeten his religion, had an opportunity of renewing his friendship with the Bishop. Soon after Harold Browne had been translated to Winchester, he undertook to hold a Confirmation at Albury, where at this time Mr. Tupper was living ; and on hearing that the Bishop was to come there, he addressed a letter to Farnham Castle expressing in apologetic fashion his regret at not being able to come to his parish church to meet and welcome his old friend on his first visit to those parts : "the Rector" (Canon Dundas), he said, "is such a Ritualist that I seldom go to church there." When the Bishop reached the vestry he told Mr. Dundas all about this letter and the reasons Mr. Tupper gave for not being present, and said something in his kind way on the subject ; whereto Mr. Dundas replied, "Well, my Lord, Mr. Tupper gave me quite a different reason for his absence ; 'for,' said he, 'the Bishop is a very worthy good man, but I shall not go to hear him ; he

has become a terribly high Churchman ;' and so, you see, he has condemned us both." Whereat the Bishop was immensely amused, and dismissed the subject with a hearty laugh. This divergence between the old school-fellows was of long standing ; so far back as 1849 an Eton friend sent Harold Browne a note from Mr. Tupper, with the comment, "I send you some of Tupper's papers, and his truly characteristic note. You were anything but congenial spirits. Distance, however, of time and space may possibly lend enchantment to the view and serve to remind you of Auld Lang Syne."

Harold Browne remained at Postford House about a year. The sweet spot, the tranquillity of the life, above all the unpretending piety and high principle of his tutor and the tutor's sister, affected him deeply ; and though later on he appears to have disliked the extreme Evangelical party in the Church as much as the Liberal school of thought, he ever retained that higher sense of duty to God and man, that taste for parish work, and those deep convictions as to the spiritual nature of religion, which came to him from these early surroundings. It was perhaps not altogether unfortunate for him that this year of serious work, following the happy idleness of Eton, was in its turn followed by the undergraduate life at Cambridge. The "image stamped upon the clay" was not obliterated or even defaced ; it was only covered up with dust. It was also good for him that he was not pushed on too fast ; for his physical health was still far from good. Had he done himself justice at Eton, staying there till he had reached the higher and more bracing atmosphere of the sixth form, and had then, at the age of eighteen or nineteen, passed on to Cambridge, he would have had greater control over himself, and his University career might have been one of the most brilliant of his time ; his abilities, his singular

versatility of powers, the tenacity of his memory, and his admirable gift of being able to set out his knowledge clearly and with force, would have secured him very high honours. It is certain that much of his idleness was due to weakness in his young days ; one may go further and say that for the actual work of life he might well have had a less satisfactory training than was given him by his self-granted leisure, his fine sense of fun and humour, coupled as it was with an almost feminine delicacy of character and thoughtful tenderness for others. Idle he was, never frivolous ; lively and merry with his group of friends, never tempted into excess. His influence among his school and college comrades was far more widely spread and much more beneficial than if he had been the recluse, the unpractical student, and had taxed—it may be had overtaxed—his health and powers in the struggle for the prizes of the undergraduate life. Human souls, like fields, are often the better for lying fallow.

Harold Browne did not himself think so ; he always deplored the way in which he had missed his youthful chances. We do not know what led his parents to fix on Emmanuel College at Cambridge for him ; it was not an altogether wise choice. He went up thither towards the end of the year 1827, and his name stands on the Matriculation Roll of the University for the 13th of November in that year ; he is not entered on the College books as a "Pensionarius" till the 28th of the same month. He was then only seventeen years of age,—somewhat younger than the average freshman, who in those days went up, for the most part, at eighteen.

We have the Bishop's own description of the College in his day :—

"Emmanuel, like Eton, was then a very idle though a very gentlemanlike College. I am ashamed to say

that, notwithstanding all the good impressions of Postford and Albury, the idle habits of Eton came back upon me at Cambridge. Notwithstanding my idleness, I had always been very fond of literature and of literary society, and felt great interest in mathematics. My tutor assured me I could be Senior Wrangler if I would read, but I could not bring myself to read steadily, and cared more to pull stroke of our College boat, and to have her successful in the boat-races, than to take a distinguished degree. My classical studies I utterly neglected all through my undergraduateship. When it was too late I bitterly regretted the time I had lost. I felt that I might have done more if I had worked . . . and I determined to be a harder working man for the future, and by God's help I became so."

Happily for us, a few of his undergraduate friends are still living, and their reminiscences of Harold Browne's Cambridge days help to modify not a little the self-condemning tone of the Bishop's words. We gather clearly from them how marked was the effect of his character on his associates; how quietly, almost unconsciously, it raised them to a higher level; anything mean or base in act or speech was often left unsaid or undone, "because Browne wouldn't like it." There is no stronger influence on the buoyant boyish spirits and manners of the average undergraduate than that of some comrade who is their equal or superior in all College amusements, and gives himself no airs, but is known to set his face resolutely and quietly against things unrefined and coarse. The lads see in him a sort of reflexion of the home life,—of the kindly, pure mother and the graceful sisters, whom to shock would be the act of a brute, not of a gentleman. As is also so often the case in undergraduate circles, the group around Harold Browne admired him far more for the unknown force of his latent powers, than for the qualities which saw the light; he would have been less of a hero had he worked his best and shunned society

and won the highest honours. At the University, where all the ambitious lads look with feverish interest at the chances of the class lists, the sight of a man who "could an he would," but would not, is ever most attractive. It appeals to each man's dream-power; each wishing to win a noble place in the lists without losing the present pleasure of the boats, the dreamy pipe, the idle morning spent in an idle friend's rooms, the lazy stroll, the facile piano, the due attention demanded by "the willow," and all the hundred charming ways in which the cheerful undergraduate wastes the swiftly flying days of his University life. To such men their friend Browne was something of a hero, the kind of hero who did not tax them with too much work or too much self-denial. He seemed to those who were only too glad to be "lapped in luxurious ease" to be their very pattern man, whose manner of life and apparently easy successes they might emulate. "The best of both worlds," the world of pleasure and the world of work, could they but successfully combine the two,—where could such a Paradise be found on earth as within the pleasant limits of the College walls?

Here is a picture of Harold Browne among these kindly flattering friends at Emmanuel, drawn by the pen of one of his old comrades in boat and lecture-room, the Rev. J. Sharp:—

"The Bishop was one of those people who are never very demonstrative, and whose influence for good consists in a quiet, reverent calmness of mind and manner, which appeals to what is good in others, and tends to soften their asperities. I can recall with a vivid recollection our dear friend sitting low in an easy chair, with his long, thin legs stretched out more than halfway across the hearthrug, calmly moderating the keenness of debate, and helping the combatants to see some good in each other. His mind was always a well-balanced one; he had thought things out very carefully and definitely for himself, and had very

decided opinions, which he calmly and clearly expressed. Every one felt him to be a strong man, and his opinion had weight with all, whether they altogether agreed with him or not. But above all, he was what he always was throughout his life, a man of moderation and peace."

This picture of the College fireside, with the group of lively lads around it, the ever animated discussion, the one-sided enthusiasm of youth, with the spare figure of Harold Browne as umpire and mediator in the midst, carries any old University man back to days long past, when there was "heart-affluence in discursive talk;" it pictures for us such a scene as Tennyson draws in his fine lines on Arthur Hallam in the days of the "Apostles," when after wide debate—

"At last the master-bowman, he
Would cleave the mark. A willing ear
We lent him. Who but hung to hear
The rapt oration flowing free

"From point to point with power and grace,
And music in the bounds of law,
To those conclusions, when we saw
The God within him light his face."

—*In Memoriam*, lxxxii.

And the "long thin legs stretched out more than halfway across the hearthrug" were not unseen in later days; for the Bishop had a slow circulation, and loved to warm his feet at the fire, till it almost seemed as if the light and warmth tempted his limbs to grow still longer. In those days, as indeed always, he must have been most excellent company; his courtesy, his modesty and simplicity of soul, his ready fund of anecdote, the acuteness of his mental vision, which caught the points of any talk, his enviable memory and faculty of orderly thought,—all these things made him an admirable companion. There is a vivid description of him in the Emmanuel life from the pen

of his most intimate friend, the friend who brought him the greatest happiness of his life, Mr. Philip Carlyon, the cousin of his future wife. Mr. Carlyon can well speak of these College times, the days of the great Reform agitation, and the first serious shaking of English society. He was about two years younger than Harold Browne, and took his degree in 1834, following his friend as Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholar in 1836 :—

“The charm which hung like a halo round him all his life drew to him a large circle of friends at Cambridge ; but no one during my five years of residence in College saw so much of him as I. We regularly took our walks together ; we pulled together in the same boat. His popularity hindered him from being a hard student, and the width of his reading diverted him from due preparation for his degree, so that his place both in the Mathematical and Classical Tripos was no index of his powers. . . . When his name appeared so much lower than it ought to have been among the Wranglers, some friends advised him to go in for the Classical Tripos on the strength of his scholarship, which was known to be good. Unwillingly and unwisely he yielded to this pressure, and made matters worse, having laid aside for two years his classical studies ; and instead of improving his position, he was rewarded with a Third Class in Classics. His great talents were nevertheless well known and appreciated ; and his general learning, his deep theological reading, his talking-power, and his unfailing grace of manner, were sure to win him success. . . . One of his most intimate Cambridge friends was Professor John Grote, brother of the historian, whom I have heard him call the cleverest man he knew : it was a treat to hear these two champions take opposite sides in an argument. Grote was massive and impetuous, Browne keen and polished ; and what was said in those days of Professor Sedgwick and Dr. Graham of Christ’s might have been said of them : ‘ It was a duel between a sledge-hammer and a razor.’

“In society he was always delightful, always a perfect gentleman, cheerful and often playful, though never losing his dignity. He was the same as an undergraduate as in his after life. His hospitality was unbounded, and two

such gatherings were probably never witnessed at Ely as his reception of Archbishop Lycurgus of Syra and the 'bis-sex-centenary' celebration of Ely Cathedral.

"At College his tall and spare frame hindered him from joining in most athletic sports, and, excepting in the boating season, his out-door exercise consisted almost entirely of constitutional walks, most frequently on the Madingley Road, where we often met Airy, who, ten years his senior, has now followed him to his rest. Two seasons he was stroke of the Emmanuel boat, which long maintained a high place, fourth or fifth, on the river. In one race he resigned his oar to a former captain, and we got bumped; on another occasion the third boat had bumped the second, and we chased the head boat to the winning post, though without catching her; it was a desperate effort on the part of a future Bishop of Ely and Winchester to overtake the future Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield (*i.e.* Bishop G. A. Selwyn), who was then stroke of the first John's, head of the river."

Many years after, when Harold Browne was Bishop of Winchester, he recalls these happy young rivalries, and his letter, as a tribute to the high qualities of Bishop Selwyn, ought not to be lost :—

"FARNHAM, April 15th, 1878.

"The death of Bishop Selwyn is a great sorrow to me. I remember him well at Eton, as the noblest specimen of a manly truthful boy. At Cambridge, as you know, we pulled in the races together, and for a time he and I used to meet in the councils of stroke oars. I saw the last of him on his way out to New Zealand, when he spent two or three days at Exeter in 1841. I have watched him through his grand career in New Zealand, and for eleven years we have been brother Bishops in England on terms of true brotherly regard. He was not free from crotchets, or he would not have been a Selwyn; but I doubt if there was a truer, braver, or more disinterested man in Christendom—a true hero, the greatest English missionary bishop since St. Boniface. May we meet him hereafter through the grace of God in Jesus Christ!"

Though in his first year Harold Browne won a College

scholarship, a prize given specially to encourage a promising undergraduate near the outset of his time, he failed entirely to turn his mind to work. Facility and ability falling short of genius can do most things, if combined with self-control and steady habits of reading ; but this was the very thing in which the bright youth failed. Quickness and cleverness without knowledge are sadly ineffective when a man is set down before a stiff Mathematical paper, as Harold Browne found to his sorrow when the Tripos List was issued and he saw his name low down among the Wranglers, in the twenty-fourth place. He proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts on January 13th, 1832.

Throughout his life Harold Browne had an amiable weakness for deferring to the advice of his friends ; and when the Mathematical List was out, he showed an unlucky distrust in his own better judgment, and tried another tilt with the Examiners. The years of neglect had played more havoc with his languages than with his figures ; after a short and sharp burst of work, he found himself in the Third Class of the Classical Tripos, a petty distinction, which, but for the good stuff in him, would have stamped him with the fatal brand of mediocrity. Instead of this, the failure seems to have stung him into a new energy, as a keen cold bath brings tingling life into languid and sleepy limbs ; and he set himself with all his heart to repair the mischief done. After his degree, which he took just before his twenty-first birthday, he went vigorously to work, turning his whole attention to the study of Theology and of the languages auxiliary to it.

Happily for himself and the English Church, Harold Browne was not hampered by lack of means ; for his parents, possessed of a comfortable property, were only too glad to give him another chance of winning University

distinctions ; and the young man himself was now eager to do something which might help towards his own support. He therefore, with the very best results, stayed on at Cambridge, as a diligent and exemplary student. He soon proved that his companions' estimate of him was well-founded. He worked hard at Divinity, and especially, with marked success, applied himself to the study of the Hebrew language, which he and his friend Carlyon read diligently under the care and tuition of old Mr. Barnard, then teacher of Hebrew in the University. His natural gifts and quickness, now that they had a congenial subject, enabled him to make rapid progress. And this was tested before very long. In the following year, 1833, the Crosse Theological Scholarships were thrown open to competition among Bachelors, and Harold Browne won one of them. Next year his linguistic studies came into play ; we find him gazetted first Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholar for the year 1834, after having been "complimented by his Examiners for his accurate and extensive knowledge of the Hebrew tongue." And lastly, before the end of 1835 he gained the Norrisian Prize Essay Medal. This excellent essay was printed. In a note to his mother the young essayist, with a touch of pardonable pride, relates how—

"the Master of Trinity sent for me to compliment me on the unusual excellence of my prize essay, and regretted that the prize was so inadequate to its merits. He also gave me sundry hints about the Hulsean lecture and Christian Advocateship, which, as he is one of the Electors, is rather satisfactory. The former is worth three hundred a year, but is only an annual office ; they are both very high honours. I got through my Latin speech with less trouble and nervousness than I had anticipated." (January 31st, 1836.)

Thus Harold Browne to some extent repaired the failure of his Tripos places, shewed that he was making rapid

and brilliant advance in theological study, and laid solid foundations for the high reputation he afterwards justly enjoyed as one of the earliest and most trusted members of the now rising Cambridge School of Divinity.

During these years, as Harold Browne tells us in a letter to Mr. Carlyon, he took each Long Vacation some pupils for a reading party, and seems to have thoroughly enjoyed these summer work-holidays. They are an institution which fits in singularly well with the tastes and habits of young Englishmen: the memory of these fascinating outings lingers long and fondly in the hearts of all who have been so fortunate as to share in them. "In 1832," says the Bishop, "we were in Wales; in 1833 at Inveraray; in 1834 at Ilfracombe; and in 1835 at Heidelberg, and afterwards in Switzerland." As a rule a reading party is small, the numbers not exceeding five or six; but so popular was Harold Browne that his second group, that which went to the Highlands, was made up of a round dozen, eleven pupils and their tall young tutor.

The first party, which went to North Wales in 1832, settled down first at Pwllheli, and then moved to Maentwrog. On the subject of this party there exists a letter, written four years after by Professor John Grote, the metaphysician, who was one of the little company; it is worthy of being quoted because it shows what esteem and affection for Harold Browne filled the hearts of all who were brought under his influence. The letter is dated only "Sept. 4"; but as it was written on one of those quarto sheets on which, in the quiet days before envelopes and postage stamps, laborious letters used to be sent, we have the date on the postmark on the back of it,—1836.

"MY DEAR BROWNE,—I think your heart seems warmed at the idea of Maentwrog and Moelwyn, and that your legs must already be feeling an inclination to move in that

direction. I hope you will write again, and go over some more recollections in your letter; for I think one of the chief effects of it will be to make you desire still more to see the old places again, and that is what I want you to do. . . . I do not think you need be afraid of the dissolution of the fairy charm, the impression will be the better for a little refreshing,—and the charm will be increased by the association in the same scenes of your feelings in 1832 and 1836. It is only when one fancies, from Sir Walter Scott's novels or such, some fine castle or mountain, which on inspection may turn out to be a poor hovel or hill, that one had better stay at home and confine oneself to one's idea of it. I am myself very curious to know what I shall think of the mountains and valleys now, which then, being the first I had ever seen, impressed me more than any others have since. You, I think, were better pleased with them than with Scotland, or else you were then in a better humour with external nature. And then the climate is such an important feature in the landscape, that a place where it is always raining, like Inveraray, must look horrid. To be sure, it did rain in Wales—as on that agreeable day when we of Dolgelly started for the week's tour, and soon got weatherbound at Trawsfynydd, till you helped us on with a vehicle. But then what a glorious walk the next morning up the Vale of Festiniog, and thence from Maentwrog to Beddgelert! Such a day might well make up [for] a hundred of wet. Then you know we shall just be in Wales at the time of year we were travelling about on our way out of it last time—and the leaves will look so beautiful and the air so clear. Do you not remember the day we left Dolgelly in the car, and the walk next day to Llangollen, and church at Wrexham in the evening? Somehow or other, all our most interesting walks were on the Sundays. Well, I do not think we could have spent them better, whatever we shall have to say when we are in the pulpit; and the next best way of spending them is writing these remembrances, which I hope may have the effect of keeping in a ferment your Welsh ideas. I am off from here probably on Monday, October 3rd, *via* Birmingham or Oxford; consequently not very far from you" [Browne was then at Morton House, Buckingham]. "I would come and see you, but considering Mrs. Browne's health, if she is not better it will not be pleasant to you, and if she is (which for everybody's sake

I hope may be) you will meet me at Northampton or Buckingham, or where you like, and we will be off together for the mountains. Never mind Carlyon—make him go too. Not that I mean seriously, do not mind your old friend, and him Philip Carlyon; only by all means come to Wales, if you can, and we will attack the Principality at any point you like, N. or S.—anywhere. Do not be alarmed for fear I should bring a Fellowship with me—no danger: four vacant, but I have been *so* idle; in fact I cannot nail myself down, etc., etc., and my *fine mind* (oh the flattery of letters! People shouldn't say in a letter what they would not to a man's face—I never said such a thing in mine to you, though with so much more reason) is too fine to fix to anything.

* * * * *

"As you will not cross your own writing I presume you will not like to read mine crossed, so hoping to hear from you soon, I remain, my dear Browne,

"Your affectionate friend,

"J. GROTE."

The second reading party took place the following year, 1833, and led Harold Browne to the Highlands of Scotland, where at Inveraray, side by side with many of his dearest friends, he stayed a while, in charge of a most interesting single pupil, Matthew Hale, who afterwards became the first Bishop of Perth in Western Australia. At Inveraray there was a large and lively Cambridge party, eleven strong, among whom were J. Grote, Philip Carlyon, Joseph Buckley, and other friends. One record of their doings survives. Some of the company, joined by Harold Browne, essayed one day the ascent of Ben Cruachan.

"After gaining a considerable height up the mountain side," says Mr. Carlyon, "they found themselves caught in impenetrable mist, and had to abandon the attempt, and turned back. Judging that a stream must eventually reach the bottom of the mountain, they followed one for some time, till as it grew steeper and steeper Philip Carlyon,

who was the slightest and lightest of the party, was sent forward to reconnoitre. Presently he came to the head of a waterfall, the lower part of which was hidden by the rocks. To get a view, regardless of the prudent proverb, he leapt before he looked, and dropping down some feet, alighted on a hog-backed slippery rock ; and then found to his dismay that he could neither get down nor climb up again. At last his friends came up, and found him crouching, looking quite scared, against the face of the cliff. A stunted oak tree overhung the chasm, at a few feet's distance ; but it was too far, or rather too serious a risk, for him to jump at it from the insecure footing of a damp and rounded rock. So the friends held grave consultation over his head ; they felt he had not nerve enough to hold out till one of the party made his way to the village far below, and hastened back with a rope,—they were not prepared to tear up and splice their shirts. At last they hit on an expedient. The oak bending over the chasm was somewhat above the point on which Carlyon was standing ; the heaviest of the party was directed to climb into the tree and to get on one of the branches which overhung the spot, and to bend it down with his weight, till it came within Carlyon's reach. Meanwhile Browne, as the tallest man of the party, had to catch hold of his friend in the tree by the legs, so as to prevent his being dislodged by the strain when the lad in peril made his jump. The jump was safely made ; Carlyon caught hold of both man and bough, and was hoisted up in triumph and safely brought to bank." "On another occasion," says Carlyon, "we risked our lives by persuading the ferryman to take us over to Inveraray in a storm. Midway we were shipping seas, and could not tack ; crowds on the quays were watching our peril."

The memory of these days remained fresh in the mind of Harold Browne all his life, not so much because of the teaching work he had to do, but because of his strong pleasure in the converse of intelligent companions, and perhaps even more because of his love for the glories of nature. He was well-nigh a worshipper of mountain scenery.

"I remember to this day,"—we again are quoting Mr. Carlyon,—“the intense and almost choking delight, ex-

pressed by a gasp, that seized him on his first sight of Loch Awe and Ben Cruachan. Another scene that took possession of him was the glory of a brilliant aurora borealis, that suddenly gleamed over Ben Cruachan at midnight, when we were benighted on the Loch, and had failed to find our landing-place."

There seems to have been (though no account of it remains) another reading party in 1834, which was established at that bright Devonshire watering-place, Ilfracombe.

Next Long Vacation he went abroad, and Philip Carlyon with him. There is a brief reference to it in Mr. Carlyon's hand :—

"In summer 1835 we spent three months together on the Rhine, journeying home through Switzerland. An attack of typhoid at Heidelberg so prostrated him that the world came nigh being the poorer. The effect of this illness weakened him for years. . . . I can only sum up these notes with my own experience that the secret of his power was Love. He was a most loving and lovable man ; and nobody could have fully appreciated him unless they had seen him at home amidst his family and servants, by kindly love setting an example of a perfect Christian life. And now to everyone who knew him well his memory must be

" 'Dear as the holy sorrow,
When good men cease to live.' " *

In the course of the following spring, Harold Browne appears to have thought seriously about standing for one of the Fellowships which in those days were open at two or three Oxford Colleges to graduates of either University ; and he went so far as to set himself to collect testimonials for the purpose. His aim is shown by a very kind letter from Dr. Samuel Lee, then Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, which accompanied a testimonial with date of November 12th, 1835.

* Keble, "Christian Year," 27th Sunday after Trinity.

"As to advice," he writes, "I know not what to say. A Fellowship at Oxford is, beyond all doubt, better than mere expectations at Cambridge, which, after all, may never be worth much when realised. The Fellowships at Magdalen are, I believe, good. Certainly the College is a large one, and on that account worth trying for. At Oxford your Hebrew will tell much better than at Cambridge, as will also your theology. It is a great pity that Colleges generally do not break down that foolish consideration of county preference. On the present occasion Emmanuel will have more reason, I believe, to regret your loss, than you will in migrating to Oxford."

This allusion to "county preference" arose out of the fact that at Emmanuel there was but one Buckinghamshire Fellowship, and no second Buckinghamshire man could become a Fellow there so long as it was occupied; so that Harold Browne's prospects in that direction were blocked. How far the Oxford venture was prosecuted we do not know; he certainly was never elected at Magdalen; nor are we anywhere told that he went up to the sister University to push his candidature. It would be idle to speculate on what might have followed had he been thrown into the very heart of the young Oxford Movement, with his theological knowledge, his deep respect for primitive antiquity, and his habit of forming a careful judgment and adhering to it tenaciously. Whatever might have been the result, it is certain that his direct intervention in the movement would have had a calming and steadying influence on the development of events. It might have fallen to him to be the means of restoring confidence and a clear direction to the party after the heavy blows it received from the secession of Newman and others of the leaders.

The severe shaking which the Heidelberg drain-fever inflicted on Harold Browne's constitution appears to have disinclined him for any more ventures in the way of

reading parties ; there were no more of them for him after 1835. There were also other reasons for their discontinuance ; after putting on his M.A. gown, on April 3rd, 1835, he found plenty of work at home. For in the spring of 1836 his father died ; and his mother, who had been ailing some time, fell into health so weak that he was unwilling to be far from one for whom he ever cherished the warmest and most filial affection. Indeed, Mrs. Browne needed all the care and time he could give ; her health steadily grew worse, until before the end of the year she passed away in stedfast hope and confidence, and the peace of a firm and simple faith. Her death, coming so soon after that of Colonel Browne, was a terrible blow to her tender-hearted and affectionate son. To the end of his life he spoke of his mother with deep reverence and love : his affection for her was, as it deserved to be, one of the very strongest influences of his life. When both parents were thus taken away in 1836, the home of so many sweet memories at Morton was inevitably broken up. The eldest son, who had been invalided home from Burmah, established himself with his two sisters in a pretty old house, Rushden Hall, near Higham Ferrers in Northants. Here they lived very comfortably for about nine years, after which time, their means having become more straitened, the house was given up, and the two sisters found hearty welcome under the hospitable roof of their brother, then Vice-Principal of Lampeter. From that moment to the time of their deaths the two sisters always had a place at their brother's fireside, and followed him faithfully and lovingly from point to point of his distinguished career.

The year 1836 marked Harold Browne's more definite entry into the public life of his University. Hitherto he had done some little work for his College, Emmanuel ;

now, as a young Master of Arts, he had become eligible for more responsible posts, and was invited to enter on more important fields of work. Thus, he was invited this year to become tutor and, if he took Orders, Chaplain, of Downing College; and at almost the same moment Dr. Archdall, Master of Emmanuel, asked him to undertake the Sadlerian Lecturership, a College office with no higher duties than the instruction of the Second Year's men in Algebra and the Freshmen in Euclid; he also undertook the College Greek Testament Lectures.

These lectures were easily combined with his light work at Downing College. He had to move thither in the autumn of 1836; and the undergraduates, contrary to the custom of Colleges, which as a rule wisely discourages testimonials to tutors on their departure, presented Harold Browne with a fine copy of St. Augustine's works, as a mark of the beneficent influence he had already begun to exert on all who came under his teaching.

He was probably glad to retain some hold on his own College when he adventured himself so far out of the University world as to the precincts of Downing. For that College then had, and has always had, an odd existence peculiar to itself and apart from the rest of the University. There it stands aloof, with buildings rather like a rambling country-house than a college, resting placidly in green and level meads, which recall to mind some gentleman's park, far from towns and noise and intellectual strife. Here it seemed to slumber peacefully, untouched by the growing turmoil of the town, and careless of University excitements and struggles, the temporary home and refuge of a few men who, for one reason or another, had passed the usual undergraduate time of life, and were constantly a continual source of wonder and amusement to the intolerant youth of twenty years, who

seem to regard a young man of thirty as a grey-beard, and are, consciously or unconsciously, unsympathetic and even insolent towards him. Not a few were the gibes and jokes attempted by the undergraduate world when Harold Browne, tall and thin as a lath, entered on his untried duties at Downing. The men there all appear to have been his seniors, some being married ; and he, with his youthful looks, seemed like a boy among them : they declared that he was fulfilling the scripture, that "a little child shall lead them." And there was truth in it ; Harold Browne's accurate knowledge, his beautiful courtesy and instinctive power of bearing himself so as to command attention and respect, at once won the esteem of his odd flock, and he gained without difficulty their confidence and affection.

At this time we get another example of the difficulties to which his boyish appearance exposed him. In the summer of 1836 he was selected to examine the upper forms at Rugby ; and went thither to Dr. Arnold's house to carry out his engagement. No sooner was the examination over than one of those stories which are the joy of the undergraduate mind began to circulate in Cambridge. It was said that immediately on his arrival at the School-house he was shown up into the Headmaster's Library, where his brother examiner, Mr. Claughton, was already established. He and Claughton had never met ; and the latter looking up from his book, beheld a tall stripling somewhat bashfully entering the room ; he at once jumped to the conclusion that this was a sixth form boy, quietly ordered him to sit down at the table, and handed him an examination paper. In vain did Harold Browne protest, the inexorable Oxonian would not be induced to loosen his grasp until Dr. Arnold had been sent for to vouch for the truth of his declaration that he was not a victim but a brother examiner. This tale long ran current at both

Universities ; and after the Bishop had been translated to Winchester, Dr. Millard, Vicar of Basingstoke, reminded him of the story and asked him whether there was any truth in it. In reply the Bishop said :—

“The story is nearly true. It was in 1836; I was a young M.A., young of my standing” [he was not yet twenty-five] “and younger in my looks. Claughton and I met, dressed for dinner in Arnold’s drawing-room before any one else was downstairs, I think, and we talked to one another. He took me for a sixth form boy, invited me to dine on the first day with the examiners, and talked kindly to me, as to one who needed patronage and encouragement. He did not give me a paper of questions, as it was not then the time of questions. He was much amused when he found that I was his brother-examiner. He has often referred to it since we have been brother bishops. We vowed eternal friendship there. I hope it will prove eternal indeed!”

The little tale is a charming picture of the man : one can see that no one could resist the unaffected kindness which showed through every word and act of his life ; his fellow-examiner discovered quickly enough that under the boyish and modest exterior there was a sterling and trustworthy comrade, whose only desire was to do justice, and, if possible, gracious justice, to all whom he had to examine and judge. His sound scholarship and accurate memory, his courtesy and conscientiousness, made him an admirable examiner ; though he might sometimes have been almost too forbearing, remembering his own former idleness. For he never could be severe in judgment ; if he could not speak well of a man, he kept silence instead of condemning. I never heard him say an unkind word of any one.

There is still living an old pensioner of Emmanuel, Mr. Charles Mortlock, who was “Gyp’s boy” in the College when Harold Browne was there ; he can still call to mind how in 1836 he carried the young tutor’s house-

hold goods across from Emmanuel to Downing, and established him in his new quarters. He also remembers that Mr. Browne used to be called Mr. Brown-ë, as a dissyllable, to distinguish him from sundry other Mr. Browns in the College and University. Mortlock was very emphatic when asked about his master's ways ; his face quite lighted up as he said, "Yes, he was always very generous to everyone ; I can well remember that if I, as his Gyp's boy, had done him any little bit of service, there was always a piece of cake or an apple or summat for me." Mortlock also stated that when Mr. Browne left Downing the undergraduates presented him with a handsome piece of plate as a token of their gratitude and regard ; though it is not unlikely that the old man was thinking of something of the kind rather later in his career. "He always treated everyone alike," he added, "and was a real gentleman ; he was still delicate in the chest in those days, and always wore flannel ;" and as a last little reminiscence he informed me that Mr. Browne and Mr. Edge used to take their daily walk together along the Trumpington Road. Mr. Edge, who is still living, took his degree from Emmanuel College two years later than Harold Browne, and was one of his most intimate and lifelong friends. He has furnished one or two touches, which bear on this period of Harold Browne's life.

"We were very intimate," he says, "at College ; so much so that he gave up rooms in a distant part of the College, and took rooms in my staircase, opposite to mine, that he might be close to me. So again, in our 'Squire' days," [*i.e.*, while yet unordained] "we were fast and furious correspondents, and I had at one time literally carpet bags full of his letters to me,"—letters, I fear, all lost or destroyed.

CHAPTER II.

HOLY ORDERS AND PARISH WORK.

FOR some years past Harold Browne's mind had been turning more and more towards Holy Orders. The general seriousness of his disposition, his facility as a linguist, and the clear definiteness of intellect, found plentiful scope for their exercise amid the intricate problems of dogmatic theology. Few young men, perhaps, have been better fitted by character, capacity, and training for clerical life; yet it is strange to see what difficulties, many and vexatious, he had to surmount before he could even win his way to a bishop's examination table. In 1834, when he was but just of age for Deacon's Orders, he applied to Dr. Sparke, Bishop of Ely, and received in reply a formal letter to the effect that a University scholarship could not be taken as a title for Orders; but that if he were to become Fellow of his College, or should wish to act as a curate within the diocese, all preliminary difficulties would disappear. Soon after he made another attempt on the Bishop, offering himself this time not as University scholar, but as Subtutor to his College. Again he received an unfavourable reply; the Bishop cannot entertain such an application unless Mr. Browne can show him that the College statutes require the Subtutor to be in Orders. After these rebuffs, Harold Browne appears to have desisted for a time; it was not till April 1836 that

we find him again making application to a bishop. He then wrote to Dr. Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, from Morton House, Buckingham, offering himself as a candidate for Orders. He had no claim whatever on the consideration of the Bishop of Lincoln, beyond the fact that he was living at Buckingham, which was in the ancient diocese of Lincoln. He did not suggest that he would take work as a curate in that diocese. A letter from his mother throws some light on it. Writing on the 8th of March, 1836, she speaks of her son's birthday, and says it was the anniversary of "that day that blessed me with one of the best and dearest sons that mother ever possessed. . . . May you, my beloved," she continues, "have a happy and prosperous year, and be blessed with an increase of health and strength to enjoy every blessing the Almighty may be pleased of His great goodness to bestow upon you. A good son maketh a glad father—how happy and grateful ought I to be who am blessed with five good and affectionate children." Then she suggests that he should apply for ordination to the Bishop of Lincoln: "I shall be very glad if that can be accomplished, for I think it will be a comfort to my dear son on many accounts."

The Bishop's reply says simply and curtly that it is impossible; that he does not accept Fellowships as titles, except in the case of Fellows of King's, "that College being a portion of the diocese of Lincoln."

As, however, Harold Browne's duties at Downing were supposed to be coupled with the Chaplaincy to the College, it became necessary once more to try the Bishop of Ely. And here he met with a fourth rebuff. The Bishop replies that he doubts whether the Chaplaincy is a permanent office; at any rate he can hardly believe that it is permanent enough to serve as a Title for Orders, and moreover he adds that he is not prepared (even supposing that it is

a Title) to accept any man as a candidate for Orders, unless the post he proposed to fill carries with it a stipend of at least £75 a year. This was very disappointing : to many it would have seemed as if the hand of Providence were pointing in some other direction, and indicating that the aspirant was a man not fitted for Holy Orders. Harold Browne had happily a wholesome dash of obstinacy, and persevered. On the 7th of September, 1836, he addressed another letter to the Bishop, which ran as follows :—

“MY LORD,—I have to apologise to your Lordship for asking ordination at your hands under rather unusual circumstances ; but I trust that when I have detailed them, you will consider them such as to warrant your acceding to my request. I am Assistant Tutor of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, an office which I have now held two years. I took my degree of M.A. in July 1835. I am at present excluded from a Fellowship by a restriction which prevents two persons of the same county from being Fellows at the same time, and the Senior Fellow is of the same county with myself. As however he fully intends to take the first good living that offers, and the Master and Fellows have kindly expressed much anxiety that I should not resign my present situation, I feel it incumbent on me to reside. Your Lordship will perceive that these circumstances prevent the possibility of my obtaining a curacy or other strictly legitimate Title for Orders, and at the same time that I cannot but feel the great disadvantage of entering late on my intended profession.

“In this situation I have resolved to plead to your Lordship what is virtually equal to a Fellowship, though not a real Title according to the canon law. The Subtutorship which I hold is in value £120 a year, which, I presume, is as much as the endowment of many Fellowships. I also have just held (what has sometimes, I believe, been considered a Title) two University Scholarships, viz., the Crosse Theological and the Tyrwhitt Hebrew scholarship, the former of which I have, however, resigned. I am aware that they are not necessarily a Title, but I submit to your Lordship that they are in accordance with the spirit, though not the letter, of the canon law ; and I trust your Lordship will see that the object which I have in view is not emolu-

ment but the desire of becoming early accustomed to the duties of my profession, and therefore, if possible, a more useful member of it.

"I have to apologise for troubling your Lordship with so many details, which were, however, necessary to explaining my case ; and I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's

"Most obedient humble servant,

"HAROLD BROWNE."

It must be allowed that this very reticent letter, in which there is no hint as to his views on religion or theology, or any words shewing the high view he certainly took of the sacred obligations of a clerical life, was not very well fitted to convince or move the Bishop of Ely. There had been a change at that Cathedral : Bishop Sparke was no more, and his place had been taken by Joseph Allen, formerly Bishop of Bristol ; who appeared at first just as unwilling to meet Harold Browne's wishes as his predecessor had been. He wasted no time over his reply ; it was despatched from the Cloisters, Westminster, on the day on which he received the application. In it he takes no notice of Mr. Browne's arguments and appeals, and replies in the hardest and briefest terms :—

"SIR,—I am sorry to say that, consistently with the rules I am obliged to lay down in regard to titles for Orders, I cannot ordain you upon your Assistant Tutorship.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your faithful servant,

"J. ELY.

"HAROLD BROWNE, ESQ."

Bishop Allen, however, appears to have made some enquiries respecting Mr. Browne ; for a few days later the Bishop addressed another letter to him, in which he says he had learnt that the Chaplaincy at Downing College was a statutable office, and also that Mr. Browne was a man of reputable life and excellent character. He there-

fore waives his objection and overrides his "rule," and is willing to admit the young man as a candidate for Orders. Harold Browne's reply is as strange as the rest of the transaction. As one reads it one is tempted to say : Here is a man, already notable at Cambridge, and pointed to as one of the most rising of the younger Masters, a man destined to be pre-eminent hereafter as a parish priest, as a learned theologian, as a pattern bishop, obliged to sue at the Bishop's gate almost *in forma pauperis*. He is accepted after much demur and difficulty, as a great favour, and now he has to beg for a relaxation of the rules as to admission ; he is diffident as to his knowledge of the very rudiments of Theology. He writes with a modesty all his own ; a less honest and more prudent man would have held his tongue. He petitions for a relaxation of the Bishop's rule of three months' previous notice ; he humbly confesses that he is "not prepared for a particular examination in Divinity." It is probable that when he penned these deprecatory lines his stores of theological knowledge exceeded those of the prelate before whom he was to appear, and who replied with gracious condescension, "I could not in the common course of things have admitted you on so short a notice, whatever had been the conveniency to Downing College, had I not had special information about you, on which I could place good reliance ;" and he continues with a warning that he must "read professedly" for Priest's Orders, ending up with a hint that no more back doors or other irregularities would be allowed !

And thus Harold Browne's approach to Holy Orders was fenced round with difficulties, as if he had been some young fellow of idle habits or profound ignorance. We may, however, safely believe that from the moment Bishop Allen came into personal communication with him, all suspicions and reluctance vanished away. Edward

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Harold Browne's name stands on the roll of those who were ordained Deacons by Bishop Allen on the first Sunday in Advent, November 26th, 1836.

We have now reached a point in our Bishop's life, at which it may be fruitful to pause a moment and consider the principles on which he built up his belief and ruled his days. These matters once settled, he never again felt obliged to reconsider them, but remained fixed in his orbit to the end of his life. This, though it gave a certain want of freshness to his mental development, made his career consistent throughout; new views of life and of the relations of men with God and with one another affected him comparatively little; the structure he had built was coherent, logical, leaving no room for later additions, no opening for fresh decoration and adornment. The Bishop's learning and power of exposition gave great weight to the moderate and conservative position which he thus took up and maintained to the very end. Every one knew at once what side he would take; his utterances were well-balanced, tinted by a sweet charity; and the Church naturally loves and honours so consistent a character.

We have seen how deeply in his younger days at Postford Harold Browne had been influenced by the Calvinistic teaching he had listened to in Albury Church. Puzzling questions as to the problems of life, the relations between the human soul and its destiny, the mystery of freewill and necessity, matters which have ever occupied thoughtful souls, crowded on the young man's mind, and filled it with dark anxiety. The cry "*De profundis*," which rose from his troubled heart, and deepened his naturally strong sense of personal responsibility, long received no answer; the impressions of Postford, in spite of the lively

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and often thoughtless surroundings of College life, often darkened his soul, and led him to picture himself as dwelling in a world ruled by an offended Deity.

The essential matter in the Augustinian theology is the direct relationship between man and God. It asks solemnly, "deep calling unto deep," How is it with your soul? Are you one of God's called and chosen? If so, all is well. Be not presumptuous: "strait is the gate, and few there be that find it." There is a simple and somewhat awful directness about this theology. It takes no heed of the intermediaries which frail man would fain place between himself and his Maker. The Church is but a messenger of the Divine decrees, not a way of access to a loving Father. The feeling of the all-pervading power of God crushes our weak sense of individual freedom and responsibility; in some mysterious way life is so planned that men get all the discredit of their evil deeds, which they are free to do, while if there is any good thing in them, it is not theirs. The gentler theology of the school which Mr. Simeon first, and then his lieutenant and follower Mr. Carus, long led at Cambridge, a theology which appealed to the more affectionate qualities of his character, did much to modify the early impressions of Postford Hill; and he retained throughout his life a grateful remembrance of their goodness. His shrinking from their party in after life was due, not to any doubts as to their sincerity and piety, but to his conviction that they had not grasped certain principles which he deemed essential to the life of the Church.

We do not know by what steps his mind freed itself from the bonds of Calvinism. He doubtless detected in the leaders of it a want of cultivation and an unwillingness to recognise the claims of learning. Many a pulpit in those days resounded with denunciations of carnal know-

ledge and worldly literature. Puritanism has ever looked askance at the wisdom of this world; and this ill-will towards intellectual life must have been most distasteful to Harold Browne, with his strong love of letters and keen appreciation of the masterpieces of classical scholarship. Their vehement protests against the world, their treatment of all things not strictly religious as snares of Satan, must have shocked the man who had so lately been the companion of Charles Kean in his studies of our dramatic literature. Above all, Harold Browne soon observed that the denunciations of worldly learning did not conceal the fact that there were huge blanks in the teacher's own knowledge; and that the School was indifferent to many thoughts and convictions included in the idea of a Church. They had little grasp of the historic bases of Christianity. It was to them a Divine revelation of God's will, retold in each generation for the heirs of salvation; not the steady growth of the Church, that great family of God in Christ. And lastly Harold Browne's linguistic gifts, turned as they were towards the special study of the sacred texts, brought him into direct collision with those who too often seemed to think that the English Version of the Scriptures was itself a direct verbal revelation not to be touched by the profane hand of criticism. Much as in after life the Bishop shrank from the bold views of those who handled the criticism of the Bible, and recoiled from a movement of which he could not see the outcome, still he had thought about the problems calling for solution, and was too strong and too learned to be content with the shutters with which pious people try to keep the light of the sun off the sacred flame. And so he soon diverged on this side from the old friends: not because he had less belief in the sacred texts, but because he had come to deal with them as a scholar. And there were other lines of difference: as

he studied the fabric of the early Christian Church, the form of a mighty institution rose up before his eyes. Personal questions, even that deep mystery of the salvation of souls, began to take a more subordinate place. As he thought more about the general conception of a Christian Church, "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone," the individual grew less prominent, the social fabric loomed larger and more magnificent, as he looked. And with the grasp of this conception came a more solemn view of the importance of the two Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion, and a strong belief in Episcopacy as the only right governing-power in the Church. And to these thoughts, as they revolved in his mind, he found little or no response from his old friends. They were too particularist for him; the life of the Christian community was, he thought, omitted from their scheme. At any rate the relative sizes and proportions of things seemed different to him and to them.

And so Harold Browne made the one great change of his life, and passed from the older Evangelical school to the new and enthusiastic party now rising, through clouds of suspicion and dislike, into prominence. The change once made, his moderation hindered him from pushing forward with the party; so that he was in the main the same in 1890 as in 1836, when he first knelt before the Bishop of Ely at his ordination. In his farewell address to the Winchester Diocesan Conference, in October 1890, he makes allusion to these early days. He describes his yearnings after a firm and intelligible basis for his belief. After alluding to the diverse shades of opinion in the Church, he refers to his own eager search for a primitive foundation; in which he followed those Anglican divines, Hooker, Jewel, and others, who appealed back from Rome

to the first three centuries of the Christian era, and urged that the Church of England should return to primitive practice. Then, he continued, came the "Tracts for the Times," which he had gladly accepted, because they too, in the main, advocated a return to primitive Christianity.

"Something," he says, "of the kind was in the air before Newman arose, a great genius, to put it into form and shape. I can well remember that some of us in our early studies had our minds directed by the teaching of primitive antiquity; some of us not moving in the same direction—at least not springing from the same principles—as the Oxford school went upon."

Again, speaking of the study of the English Reformation divines, he says:—

"What struck me at first was that they all referred to primitive antiquity; that their great arguments against the Roman Church were derived from the writings of the Fathers. My own mind was so directed: I took—feebly it may be, but still I took—to the study of primitive antiquity and of the early Fathers from that time. Then came out the 'Tracts for the Times' . . . no wonder that many of us were very much struck and carried away by the zeal of the Tract-writers, because they so turned our attention, especially to the primitive antiquity which we had already learnt to honour. I wish I could think that they and all their followers had still adhered to the principles of primitive antiquity."

And that these principles were firmly fixed in Harold Browne's mind at this early period of his life and experience is very clearly seen from the following letter to his eldest sister, on the Roman controversy:—

"EXETER, *April 9th*, 1842.

"MY DEAREST LOUIE,—I should much like to meet again Miss —, though I have no time to buckle on armour needful for encountering the argument of her priests. But those who humbly and sincerely seek for truth cannot fail to be interesting and edifying companions. I quite

agree with her in thinking the majority of the Oxford writers in the *British Critic*, etc., 'very Roman.' Perhaps I do not agree with you in your inference. Nor indeed do I think that it is much proof that they are Romish, that the members of the Roman Church think them so. The latter have been used to esteem all Protestants, and the English Church among the rest, what many Protestants are, heretics of the deepest dye—little better than the rationalists of Germany and Switzerland. Even the English they believed to be contemners of all Sacraments, believers in the Church merely as a State religion, and the clergy as well-educated laymen. Therefore we well know the Pope was delighted with Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' and declared it a book of most profound learning and piety. Therefore we know the Roman clergy, many of them, have been wont to say that our Reformers, Cranmer and Ridley, were much more nearly Roman Catholics than Protestants such as the English clergy of our day. So that if in our days Church principles had been revived no more strongly than Hooker and Andrewes revived them in their day, or even than Ridley would have held them, and did hold them, in his day, I should have fully expected that as of course there would be a cry of Popery (as there was against Hooker); so the Roman Church would have hailed the revival as an incipient return to her own bosom. So that no cry of Popery among Protestants, or welcoming from Romanists, moves me one whit in my judgment concerning the learned writers at Oxford. Still, in my very worthless judgment, they are now doing almost as much harm as when they first wrote I believed they were doing good. They now no longer aim at reviving the doctrines and discipline of the primitive but of the middle-age Church; and whilst they justly condemn the errors which infect most of the Reformed Churches, and from which the Church of England has not utterly escaped, they yet seem to overlook (herein I do not include Dr. Pusey, who protests earnestly against them) the monstrous errors which the Roman Church has solemnly recognised as her own in the Council of Trent as well as in her general practices, especially the fearful interposing of other mediators besides the *One* between God and man. So long as they strove to revive only the great doctrines of the early Church, which had been forgotten, I was thankful for their labours; so soon as they strive to palliate errors,

even with good motives, I distrust them. Perhaps hardly ever has truth been revived without its advocates running into extremes. At the Reformation, when unhappily there was sadly little humility anywhere and terrible self-seeking almost everywhere, very few escaped this danger. Hooker was the first great reviver of sound doctrine amongst us, and his work must always stand first on the list of English Divinity. Probably there was less appearance of running into extremes at that revival than in any that has ever taken place, though then, as at the Reformation, the revivers were called on to become martyrs, and in very many cases confessors, more to be admired and having more to go through than most martyrs. It is remarkable that he who most nearly of all approached to an extreme, and who (except his royal master) was most signally a martyr—I mean Archbishop Laud,—yet was so far from Popery, that I believe all competent judges have considered his ‘Answer to a Jesuit’ the ablest and most powerful work ever written against Rome. Then came the Puritan reaction, which of course I cannot consider as merely running into extremes, as I believe it was almost without mixture of good. After the fierce sway of Puritanism was over—at least as persecuting as Rome ever was—there arose another revival, and, among the non-jurors, this too led to extremes, though never to anything like Romanism. Then came a reign of dull lifelessness, in which not only Church doctrine but all Christian doctrine seemed lost. The revival of truth came from without the Church, even from dissenters;—happily their piety was imbibed by some of the clergy, and with it the revival of the most important Christian truth, the doctrine of the Cross. Unhappily that doctrine was too much viewed subjectively as *benefiting us*, to the exclusion in some degree of the even more important objective view of it, as a work great in itself and to be the means of leading us out of self and to a contemplation of a belief in Christ Himself, and not only of the benefits we derive from Him. I have, however, no doubt of the good service done by those who replaced the theology of Paley by that of Newton and Scott, though the latter was defective. We had then lost all sight of the great doctrines connected with our privileges as members of Christ and as having the real presence of our Lord vouchsafed to us. We had quite forgotten the doctrines of Communion of Saints, of

bearing the Cross, of the efficacy of the Sacraments, and of the mysterious awfulness of our own nature as members of one great whole, the Body of Christ and Temple of the Holy Spirit. All these doctrines are to be found in our Liturgy in the writings of the Primitive Church, and in those of the best of our divines before the Revolution [of 1688]. Such, in the first instance, the Oxford writers were reviving. They have run into extremes, as might perhaps be expected of men brought up in such an age as this, when self-discipline has been wholly untaught ; and as I think the ill state of the Church just before the Reformation was much the cause of the errors of many of the Reformers, so I believe the low state of opinion and practice among us now is responsible for the extremes into which all people at present seem inclined to run, in whatever direction they are searching for truer and better things than the food on which they have hitherto been fed. As, however, the errors of Luther and Calvin, which I think monstrous, do not in the least degree prevent me from believing the Reformation a necessary thing, and a protest against Popery most indispensable, so neither will the errors of any who advocate certain positive truths prevent me from esteeming those truths essential, as much, as I esteem the avoidance of Popery as essential. I therefore in all these troubles hope to be able to fall back on what I believe the nearest approach to Divine Truth to be found in the present unhappy state of the Church, *i.e.*, not the opinions of Cranmer or Ridley or Laud or Pusey, of Luther or Calvin, or any name you like to mention, but the doctrines of the Church in England, as they are embodied in the Prayer-Book. I take them to be the best comment on Scripture I have ever met with. I deeply lament that at present our position separates us from the Churches in communion with Rome, and from the imperfect Protestant Churches of the Continent. Perfection in a National Church I never expect to see till the whole Church is again made "One in Christ"—if that happy time is ever to be brought about in this world. I feel, however, (I hope a humble) confidence that with all its blemishes the English Church is the purest in the world ; miserably indeed defective in discipline, and so producing but a very partial effect towards the sanctifying of its members, yet still the purest and best ; and I thank Him who is the Head of His Church that He has cast our lot where we have less to

puzzle us than we should have had elsewhere, as we can see the excellence of that ordinance which God has appointed for our souls, and not be tossed about from one to another in order to find at last repose. I do not, however, wish to conceal that I am most exceedingly distressed at the divisions of Christians, and the utter want of unity even in the bosom of our own Church, and withal the almost total suspension of all spirit of charity and even decency among many controversialists. At first the Oxford writers were singularly free from bitterness, but latterly some of them—though with most honourable exceptions—have manifested a spirit of sarcasm and want of courtesy most unbecoming sinners when writing on subjects so sacred.

"I have thus given you, dearest, at full length my view of the present state of affairs, in no spirit of controversy, but that you may see what I think of them. That there are earnest and sincere Christians among Roman Catholics, among the Oxford writers, among the Low party in the Church, and among dissenters too, I am most happy to hope and believe. I trust, though not one yet in body, we may be made perfect hereafter in One, though truly I feel it a *fearful* thing to say that we are not *one* in body as well as in spirit, when the Apostle says there is but *One Body*, and asks, 'Is Christ divided?' But I do think that the religion prevailing among the great body of nominal Christians in the Church of England is no religion at all, but rather a mockery of all truth and a defiance of all piety. I am sure it is now a time to be increasing in prayer for the spirit of a sound mind ourselves, and for unity in Christ's Church for which He shed His precious blood, and which by His grace will hereafter be presented without spot. God bless you.

"Ever, dearest, I trust, your brother in the Lord as well as in the flesh,

"HAROLD BROWNE."

We may pause at this point to note the bases of his scheme of life and of belief. Where, as in the case of the claims of Established Churches, he appeared to draw his convictions and arguments from the life of the Church in times later than the first three centuries, there was indeed

a seeming abandonment of his general principle, on the ground that the theory of National Churches had brought into prominence and sanctioned relations between Church and State which did not exist in the early days of Christianity. With this exception, Harold Browne followed the theology and Church government of the three earliest centuries of the Christian era ; appealing first to the Bible and then to the Primitive Church for his authority in all he said or did.

His life and belief acted on one another. This is always the case ; the historic element ever modifies the intellectual. And the beautiful qualities of his character, and consistency of his life, arrested in some cases the logical development of his principles, in other cases strengthened the force of the doctrines he held so clearly and commended with so great a power of persuasion. Deep beneath all lay a firm belief in the love, the goodness, the providence of God. Few are the souls which really believe in God, recognising His presence in the world, not as a fierce avenger but as a loving Father. Harold Browne was one of these ; from childhood upwards, a pure and godly man. No doubt his kindness led him into mistakes ; the luxury of generosity often led him to help unworthy objects. This, however, was a very venial and even a lovable fault ; perhaps the worst that can be said of it is that it was unfair to others, and that it sometimes encouraged genteel beggary of a very unwholesome type. There was too in it a touch of the patronage with which the "upper" are always tempted to spoil their communications with the "lower" ranks of society. Harold Browne could see the popular difficulties of the time ; he was deeply interested in the working-man questions which have now become so prominent. He regarded these matters with the kindly eyes of one who, passing through squalid, crowded streets,

sees the misery there and longs to carry consolation into the dark places, yet still does not allow his Christian brotherhood to obliterate the accustomed divisions of rank.

The principles by which his course was guided were mainly these. First, he felt a genuine loyalty for Holy Writ, which he regarded as the ultimate rule of faith and practice. Next, in face of the difficulties surrounding the careful study of the Bible, he asked how the authority of Scripture could be upheld, and its true interpretation secured. To this question there are three replies: one of the well-known type, which denies our right to doubt or criticise, and holds that Holy Writ carries with it a conviction of its own,—in other words, that the Bible is to be accepted on the internal evidence alone; a second solution seeks to bring the external form of the revelation under the laws of evidence to which we subject all our knowledge, and by which we pronounce books genuine or not according as they satisfy the canons of sound criticism; and thirdly, there is the theory of those who hold that neither internal evidence nor external and historic proof is sufficient (regard being had to the extreme gravity of the issues), but that God has created His Church to be the guardian of the faith, the bulwark and interpreter of Holy Scripture, and that we must appeal to authority and tradition for our faith. Harold Browne took a middle course. He saw that there was truth in all three views. He was deeply impressed with the intrinsic power of Revelation, and acknowledged the happiness of the man who trod those inner courts, undisturbed by the questionings of the world without. At the same time, he was large-minded and strong enough to recognise the existence of real difficulties, and to see that objectors are not to be waved aside as if they were people of the Korah tribe, presumptuous in

stepping in where the authorised priests alone might tread. Against inquiry and fair criticism he never said a word—he was prepared to deal honestly with all honest folk ; and his mind was singularly well fitted for the study of evidences, and the weighing of claims for and against doctrines or passages of Scripture, or interpretations read into the words of Holy Writ by the exigences of formal theological systems. We may not think his *Essay on Inspiration* his happiest effort : at any rate it is a thoroughly fair and honest statement of the views and conclusions at which he had arrived. In the third theory as to Scripture he took even more interest. For his mind rested firmly on the fabric of the Church ; and he was willing to regard it as the guardian and depository of the faith and of the Holy Books. On the other hand, he had no sympathy whatever with the Roman theory, even as it was modified by the “Irvingite” or “Catholic Apostolic” Church. He was willing to give great weight to tradition ; but when he found dogma so developed, as, if not to contradict Scripture, at least to require ingenious adaptation to it, he at once fell back on the view that the ultimate authority lies in the Scripture itself, not in the Church, which had often failed to interpret it correctly. To his mind the very conservative attitude of the English Reformers was most acceptable ; he refers again and again to their clear protest against the mediæval theory of faith and religion, and is never weary of laying it down that the basis of his faith is Christ the Redeemer and Teacher, as displayed in Holy Writ, and as expounded in the first three centuries of the Christian era. This gave him on the one side his scheme of doctrine, on the other side his scheme of Church government ; and both these he desired to test by the authority of Scripture and the utterances of the primitive Church ; nor did he hesitate to apply the well-known formulæ of

Vincentius of Lerins, "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus," as the test of all his principles. It is a formula the full application of which is hardly possible, so soon as we have passed from very early times; and even then the "ab omnibus" must often, as has been said in scorn, mean the judgment of the majority. But without pushing this view of unity too far, Harold Browne saw that in the main it provided a fairly solid ground on which to build up the theory of the Church, and that it enabled the Reformed Church of England to reject accretions of doctrine and use which could be shown not to belong to the days in which the New Testament was written, or to the earlier ages of the Christian faith.

Perhaps the most marked feature of the Bishop's scheme of belief was his unshaken confidence in Episcopacy as the one plan of Church government which can be traced back to apostolic days in an unbroken line. The first aim of the Oxford Movement was to reassert this episcopal theory of the Church, treated federally; each state having its own Church, and each Church presided over by its own Bishops, and no two Bishops being permissible in one place. It accordingly became Harold Browne's object to assure Churchmen that their faith rested on the faith of the primitive Church, and was in all essentials identical with it; and also that the Apostolic Succession has continued unbroken in the English Church, in spite of the confusions of the Reformation period. That the English Church of to-day is the direct successor of the early English Church; that in the main its doctrines and theory of discipline are the same; that it has always protested against the interference of Rome: these were among our Bishop's most cherished postulates. Closely attached to this federal scheme of Episcopacy was the desire for a "Reunion of Christendom." In theory every Church desires to be in

communion with all other Christian bodies. We profess to desire that the Church throughout the world should be one ; while at the same moment we raise our own barriers against the fulfilment of this desire. The Greek Church stands apart, not consenting to accept the "Filioque" clause ; the English Church does not see her way to remove those words from the Creed ; the Roman Church will hold no communication with those who are not of her obedience ; and so on. The Anglican theory in turn excluded the non-episcopal bodies, as it held that the vitality of a Church depends essentially on its form of government. Surrounded with these difficulties, Harold Browne was hard pressed between principle and feeling. It was very painful for him to regard whole breadths of his fellow-countrymen, the nonconformists, as outside the pale of the Church, consigned to vague "uncovenanted mercies." Perhaps, though he never went away from his principles, he closed his eyes to their more severe application, and while he could not recognise these irregular bodies, forbore to think of them as doomed, or, at any rate, as in more than grievous peril.

This sketch has been drawn out somewhat at length, because this was apparently the critical time in formation of our Bishop's principles and opinions.

Harold Browne was at the time of his ordination tutor of Downing College, and soon also became Chaplain there. In addition to these duties, he, acted during his diaconate, as volunteer curate in a country parish in Cambridgeshire. This was Fen Ditton, a little village a few miles below Cambridge, on the river as it runs towards Ely. Here he preached his first sermon, and made his first essays in pastoral work. [In after years he would relate with great amusement how, coming out of church on Trinity Sunday morning, after having preached as clearly

as he could on the topic of the day, an old woman stopped him in the road to thank him for his "beautiful sermon;" "for," said she, quite earnestly, "I never did see so clear before how there were three Gods"!

His sojourn at Downing College lasted only a single year. In October 1837, Mr. Weller, who then held the Buckinghamshire Fellowship at Emmanuel, took a College living, so vacating his Fellowship. And, before the close of the year, Mr. Browne was unanimously elected as Mr. Weller's successor.

"This," says his sister Maria in a letter dated November 28th, 1837, "will render him very comfortable, and was much needed, for he was working himself to death for a pittance that would not keep him out of debt,—and he has no expensive indulgence except a few books. I fear from his letters he is far from strong, but hope when his mind is more at rest his health will improve."

Thus, before the close of the year, to the great gratification of his old friends, he was once more happily established in Emmanuel College, and resumed his place as Assistant Tutor. Next year, while he was still Junior Fellow, the much more lucrative post of Senior Tutor of his College was given him by the Master, Dr. Archdall; and this office he held till his marriage in 1840. A passage in one of his letters shows the view he took of his new duties:—

"I think I may say," he writes of this period, "that I strove, more than was the custom among tutors of Colleges then, to infuse a religious tone into my lectures and into my intercourse with the young men of my College. I always looked on my College as if it were my parish. My pupils almost invariably treated me with great kindness and respect, I may almost say with affection. The students of Emmanuel College twice testified their goodwill towards me; once by presenting me with a handsome

copy of St. Augustine's Works, when I moved to Downing, and afterwards by giving me a large silver salver when I married and left Cambridge."

At the Advent Ordination (December 3rd, 1837), Harold Browne was admitted to Priest's Orders, with his new Fellowship for a title. And thus he blossomed forth into the full-blown University Don, and for about three years worked hard at the problem of the discipline and education of undergraduates. The letter quoted above testifies to the deep religious principles underlying all his endeavours; it shows us that even in these earlier days his heart was far more set on religious influence than on the ordinary courses of College lectures; it could already be seen that if any call towards parish work came to him, it would hardly be resisted. And yet those years were very valuable to him. He learnt how to put his knowledge into clear form, so that exposition of whatever he was called on to teach became natural to him from this time.

And now came that which is the turning-point of every true man's career—his meeting with and engagement to his future wife. No man ever went through less of romance before marriage; no one ever was mated with a more true and loving helpmate. It was in the vacation of 1838 that Harold Browne first met Miss Elizabeth Carlyon, who exerted so sweet and healthy an influence on all his future life. In 1838 he went down into Cornwall to pay a visit to his intimate College friend, Mr. Philip Carlyon, who was at that time at his uncle's house at Truro. During his short visit, though he did not openly declare himself, he saw quite enough of Miss Carlyon to make him desire to see more; so much so, that when the summer vacation of 1839 came round, he found it necessary (at least so he professed) to make a second visit to Corn-

wall, that he might see something more of that picturesque county. Whatever might be the pretext, there is no doubt that the real attraction was the lady whom he had admired the year before. He accordingly once more accepted the ready hospitality of Dr. Carlyon's house, and arrived there soon after the beginning of the long vacation. Dr. Carlyon was a man of note in the West Country. Like many of his forefathers, he was educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge. In 1798, soon after he had taken his degree, he was elected Travelling Fellow of his College. After three wander-years as Fellow, Mr. Carlyon returned home, and in 1806 forfeited his Fellowship by marrying his cousin. He then took his M.D. degree and settled in Truro as a fully qualified physician.

"Here he was universally beloved and respected. He was a J.P. for town and county, and when he retired from practice in 1849 he spent his life in promoting whatever seemed to him to be likely to benefit his neighbours. He was a friend to many useful charitable institutions. He died in 1864 at the ripe age of eighty-seven, having lived to see his son-in-law, to whom he was deeply attached, promoted to the bishopric of Ely."

The Carlyons are a very ancient Cornish stock. Lysons, in his *History of Cornwall*, says :—

"This family has been settled at Tregrehan, in the parish of St. Blazey, more than three centuries. It is most probable that they were originally of the same family as the Carlyons of Carlyon in Kea, which 'Barton' belonged to a family of that name at an early period."

Things went very smoothly ; long before the visit ended the young tutor had asked Elizabeth Carlyon to become his wife. No difficulty or objection seems to have been raised. After the engagement had been made public they spent

some time together, first at Truro, and then at Tregrehan, the home of Miss Carlyon's uncle, the head of the family. There they learnt more and more to recognise each other's excellences.

"The time," says Mrs. Harold Browne, "went much too quickly, as Mr. Browne was obliged to return to Cambridge, and we did not meet again till just before our marriage. In the meantime our correspondence was very constant, although each letter at first cost thirteenspence. Before however the year was over, we had (and doubtless made full use of) the benefit of the penny post, then first introduced."

Few couples have had so little opportunity for sweet communings in the interval between engagement and marriage: the rides through Cornish lanes in the vacation of 1839 were almost their only chances. Yet the marriage was very far indeed from being one of the "marry in haste, repent at leisure" kind. Both dispositions were sound and true; there was nothing to hide on either side; and probably they understood each other better than many a couple who have had years of courtship without discerning the difficulties which lay before them. As both were in earnest in their Christian calling, both full of the most genuine Christian charity, both prepared to make the best of everything in the wedded life, and hand in hand to face danger and sorrow as well as peace and joy,—their short courtship was the fair frontispiece to the solid volume of their half-century of faithful unity in Christ and in each other.

And if there had been any doubts, they must surely have been swept away when the household at Truro entertained an angel unawares in the unlikely person of a rather crazy Irishwoman. For it had come to the ears of an old servant and pensioner of the Brownes, that her

"dear Master Harold" had got himself entangled in a love affair :—

"Your name and writing," says an old friend, "induced us the other day to pay a little attention to a very interesting poor Irishwoman. . . . We proceeded from buying matches to giving her a breakfast, and succeeded well in making the poor creature forget her cares for an hour or two ; and she has promised to visit us again. I never heard so much of your history before as she imparted to us—nor was I before aware that you had so much Irish blood in your veins. The poor creature is very grateful to you and your sisters."

And this "poor creature" was the assuring angel who came to the house at Tregrehan. She had been, in the old Aylesbury days, a kind of "hen-wife," taking care of the poultry and yard-pets of the family, and had been kindly treated by all. Harold had been her special favourite, and after the break-up of the home she grew restless, being rather unsettled in mind, and took to a roving life, visiting from time to time the houses of her old friends, "to see how they were getting on." And now, having heard of the engagement, she tramped all the way from Bucks to Cornwall, selling matches and sleeping in sheds and under trees, till at last she reached Tregrehan, where Miss Carlyon's uncle, General Carlyon, treated her kindly, and was not a little amused by the poor creature's talk and enquiries. Old Mary's anxieties were completely set at rest by her visit to Cornwall ; she gave her hearty consent to the match. The little incident is trifling, save in so far as it throws a light on the kindly and patriarchal ways of both families, and proves that the loving qualities of Harold Browne's character won full sympathy from his wife's kinsfolk.

During the nine or ten months of this happy engagement two proposals, both highly gratifying to Mr. Browne, and both indicative of the great esteem and confidence he

had inspired in the minds of all with whom he had to do, were made to him; either post would have enabled him at once to marry, both were carefully considered and both firmly though gratefully declined. The one offer probably tempted him but little; he was asked in November 1840 to become Head of the Training College at Chelsea, a post afterwards offered to and accepted by Derwent Coleridge. The work of a schoolmaster, and still more that of a trainer of teachers, was one for which he felt no vocation, and he seems to have declined it at once. The other offer was far more tempting; it was the Headship of Bishop's College at Calcutta, a Theological Seminary in which young men, mostly Hindoos, were being prepared for missionary clerical work in India. His sister, on April 10th, 1839, writes that:—

“Harold has just declined a very flattering offer by the advice of his friends, who all thought that the exertion in such a climate as Calcutta would kill him.”

His letter to his sister shows with how cool a judgment he treated this grave and interesting offer. There is not in it a touch of feeling. He neither refers to his engagement nor does he seem to have been affected by the strictly missionary aspect of the question. He weighs the matter dispassionately; he has no call to go, and sees no difference between training young men destined for parishes and other occupations in England, and the forging of the weapons with which new battles are to be fought against the vast forces of half-civilised heathendom in India. Disappointing as the point of view is, there can be no doubt that the decision, without being heroic, was quite prudent.

“EMMANUEL COLLEGE, *March 15th*, 1839.

“MY DEAREST MOLLY,—I write this evening that I may not keep you longer in doubt, to say that I have deter-

mined *not* to accept the offer of Bishop's College. I have taken all the counsel I can get. Carlyon and Blunt are both in Cambridge at this moment, and they, as well as all my friends here, are against my going. Your letter therefore *decided* me against it. I have of course had some anxiety on the subject, as I fear I have caused you much. But I *believe* I have determined rightly in not going. I cannot write what I think or feel on the subject. I trust I am not influenced by selfish motives in taking my present course, and I can only pray that I may be made more useful in my present and future stations than I should have been had I gone to India. After all, it is doubtful whether the Head of a College containing twenty or thirty candidates for the ministry in the Colonies is so much more useful a sphere than the tutor of a College consisting of forty or fifty candidates for the parochial ministry in England. If this be a right statement of the question I think the doubt is considerable.

"Your most attached brother,

"HAROLD BROWNE."

These offers, although they were rejected, appear to have quickened his desire to take to parish work. And so, when a sole charge at Stroud in Gloucestershire was offered to him by Matthew B. Hale (afterwards Bishop of Western Australia), at that time Vicar of the Mother Church at Stroud, he consulted those so deeply interested in his movements at Truro, and finding that there would be enough to live on, and that Miss Carlyon was willing to make the venture, he accepted the offer, gave notice of resignation of his College duties, and made ready to qualify himself for his new work by bringing with him the best helper and comrade he could have chosen, his bride.

Edward Harold Browne and Elizabeth Carlyon were married at Bath on the 18th of June, 1840; at the earliest moment at which he could get away from tutorial work at Emmanuel. His pupils, who even in the short time during which he had been in charge of them had learned to value and to love him, marked their esteem and regret at his

going, by combining together to present him with a very handsome piece of plate, dedicated to him "in suos se penates recepturo," on going away to set up house for himself.

The sole charge of a lately consecrated church, Holy Trinity, Stroud, with a district of the parish conventionally assigned to it by the Vicar, began a new era in Harold Browne's life, and may be said to have fully confirmed him in his preference for practical rather than educational work. To the end of his days he looked back on his brief sojourn at Stroud with gratitude and pleasure. The new wedded life, the solemn charge of what was really a parish, the first undertaking of all the fatherly duties and responsibilities of a parish priest, the beauty and healthiness of the valley in which Stroud lies, and lastly the intelligence of the manufacturing population, all combined to leave on the new curate's mind an excellent and lasting impression. And Stroud received Mr. and Mrs. Browne with kindest welcome. No one was a truer friend to the young couple—then or afterwards—than was the Vicar of the parish, Mr. Hale. To him we owe a graphic picture of the new curate's work and life in his new home, which I venture to print in full:—

"MY DEAR SIR,—I now reply to your letter, written at the suggestion of Mrs. Harold Browne, to ask for information about the late Bishop's residence at Stroud.

"I am not at all surprised to hear that you find nothing about it in the documents already in your possession. In the first place the late Bishop was in that parish only a very short time, and in the next place, so far as one knows, his work there was not in any way linked with any later steps in his career. It was, if I may so say, an episode in his career. It was the beginning of his life as a married man, and the beginning of his work as a parochial clergyman; and I am rejoiced to have Mrs. Browne's testimony, now lately given to me, that the episode was a happy one.

"Stroud might fairly claim to be considered a pleasant parish to work in. The population was about eight thousand; mostly labouring people or mill-hands connected with the different woollen cloth manufactories. They were for the most part decently housed. The mill-owners, and other well-to-do people, were extremely warm-hearted and kind, and they desired to make things pleasant for their pastors.

"The late Bishop had, as a separate charge, a new church, consecrated only a few months before he came, and, by private arrangement, a separate district connected with it.

"I need not say how greatly I was helped and supported in my care of the parish by having so able a man and a dear friend at that district church. It must be also equally needless for me to say that he made his mark in the parish. I will mention only one illustration. Thirty years after the time I have now been speaking of, viz., in the year '72, I met at Sydney, in the drawing-room of the Bishop of Sydney, a very worthy person, who had left Stroud when I was there to emigrate to New South Wales. This person produced, for my inspection, a testimonial which he had received from his employer, and upon the same sheet of paper were added a few commendatory words from myself, with my own signature. He had kept up his interest in Church matters at Stroud, and asked me a variety of questions about men and events, and one of his questions was this: 'And who was that tall gentleman who used to preach such very good sermons?' My pleasure may be imagined when I made answer, 'That tall gentleman now occupies a distinguished place amongst the English Bishops.'"

At Stroud the young couple lived in a house, called "Tower Hill House," which, as Mrs. Browne says,

"was great only in name, except perhaps in the size of its porch, which one of our friends used to say looked as if it could carry away the house on its shoulders; but there was a beautiful view of the rich hills and vales round Stroud from its windows, and the inhabitants of the district were a particularly pleasant set of people, rich and poor. Oddly enough, I remember an anecdote of one of our best poor people, a widow, who insisted on marrying

a drunken good-for-nothing man, and when we expostulated with her she said it was a temptation of the evil one she could not resist. At least she could repent, and I doubt not she did so at leisure."

Mr. Browne, however, had little time at Stroud to watch the outcome of any part of his work among these friendly Gloucestershire people. For before he had been there quite six months the Perpetual Curacy of St. James's Church, Exeter, was offered to him, and he accepted it at once, because it was a more independent position, and brought him nearer to Cornwall. It also seemed likely to provide a rather larger stipend. And to Exeter he removed forthwith, to read himself in at his new cure; his license bearing date of April 16th, 1841.

St. James's was a district church taken in 1836 out of the large and outgrown parish of St. Sidwell; and St. Sidwell's was the name of a populous suburb of Exeter outside the east gate of the city. Ecclesiastically it was only a chapelry, annexed early in the sixteenth century to the parish of Heavitree, and only raised into a rectory in 1867. At St. James's Harold Browne laboured faithfully for about nine months, living in one of a row of newly built and very plain houses, called Salutory Place; the houses had for their outlook little but a brick-field, and the view was barely redeemed from a dead level of suburban unfinished ugliness by the two towers of the Cathedral Church, visible in the distance. Here Mr. Browne had charge of a population of over three thousand souls.

In the course of the summer the mother-church of St. Sidwell's, in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, fell vacant, was offered to him, and accepted. Mr. Browne was licensed to it as a Perpetual Curate on February 16th, 1842. It was a more anxious cure of souls even than St. James's; there were more than four

thousand inhabitants, in many parts very thickly packed on the ground; and, as Mrs. Harold Browne says, "although the principal street looked broad and well-to-do, it hid behind it numerous lanes and alleys, and rooms where each corner might house a family, and yet 'a lodger occupy the middle.'" Here was a large church, the largest in Exeter. The old St. Sidwell's had been rebuilt once in 1659, and again in 1812, and, considering the period, is a very creditable structure, the tower, pillars, and some other parts of the older building having been retained.

The family of Sir John Mowbray, M.P. for the University of Oxford, lived at Hill's Court in the parish, and were very much interested in the new Vicar.

"I have very distinct recollection," says Sir John, "of hearing much of him from my mother, especially during 1842 and 1843, of frequently hearing him in the pulpit, meeting him at dinner at my father's house, and once dining with him. I very distinctly recollect how the tone and character of the services were at once raised, and how deeply we were all impressed with the earnestness and devotion of our new pastor; how much we appreciated his sermons,—thoughtful, practical, learned without any parade of scholarship. Socially, I know his high gentlemanlike bearing, and Mrs. Browne's charming and natural manners, won the hearts of all. To me it was the commencement of a friendship which I valued more and more as years went by; and it was my singular good fortune to see them in all their homes (except Lampeter)—at Exeter, at Heavitree, Kenwyn, Cambridge, Ely, Farnham, St. James's Square and Dover Street. And it was a great delight to receive them at my home in Warenes Wood, where my dear mother always spent three months every year up to 1887, when she was ninety-five. She had the most affectionate recollection of the good Bishop from St. Sidwell's days, and he was always very fond of her."

Any one who knows the kindly hospitality of Warenes Wood and the clever and delightful family gathered

happily round Sir John in his beautiful home, will understand with what pleasure the Bishop turned aside from his more regular duties to enjoy a quiet day among his old Exeter friends.

The pastoral work done by Harold Browne at St. Sidwell's was in every way exemplary; he devoted himself with unflagging energy to his heavy duties, although he was still so weak in body, chiefly from the after-effects of the Heidelberg fever of 1835, that he was "at one time obliged to use a saddle-seat in the pulpit, though his activity and work in the parish were wonderful." There exists a foolscap sheet containing a record of names of parishioners, and notes as to their characters and conditions. It is a very simple piece of work, kindly and affectionate, and gives the impression of a diligent and careful, though not at all inquisitorial, house to house visitation.

At this time Mr. Browne appeared to be quite in the forefront of the new Church Movement. His Bishop, the well-known "Henry of Exeter," whose fame as a Church lawyer and fighting man was great half a century ago, was much attracted by the earnest young theologian at St. Sidwell's, and always treated him with marked courtesy and kindness. Bishop Philpotts issued a charge in 1842, insisting on daily services where they could be had, and weekly communions; he also instructed his clergy to wear the surplice in the pulpit instead of the black gown. The Bishop's instructions were right, as a matter of Church order: the morning sermon is treated as a definite portion of the Communion office, dealt with so as not to draw too marked a line between the ante-communion and the more solemn portion of the service; it forms, in this connection, the protest of the Church, at the time of its highest office, against a purely emotional religion. And so, when the

Bishop's charge appeared, Harold Browne obeyed, not merely because he had promised to obey, but because he really thought his Bishop right, and sympathised warmly with his wish to infuse more order and life into the services of the Church.

In order to make the matter as clear as he could to his parishioners, he preached, in October 1842, a sermon on the subject, which is, except for his Prize Essay at Cambridge, the earliest of his published writings. It is entitled "On Daily Prayer and Frequent Communion," and is dedicated to his flock in words which show the bent of his mind at this early period of his ministry :—

"To my Parishioners, for whose use and at the request of some of whom it is printed, I dedicate this sermon ; in the earnest hope that it will please God to revive among them a spirit of primitive piety, and to give them, as His people, the blessing of peace."

After rather rashly affirming that "the Church was founded here in Apostolic times, and is of Apostolic descent," he goes on to draw a distinction, hardly necessary for his argument, between the Churchman and the dissenter :—

"The one," he says, "adheres steadfastly to the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, *and the other is cut off from both.*"

It is his most unflinching statement of the view then coming into prominence, according to which a man who did not accept Episcopacy was practically cut off from all certainty of salvation. Then, after developing his subject, Mr. Browne continues thus :—

"The decided expression of our reverend Father the Bishop, that, where possible, daily prayer and weekly communion ought to be revived, especially in town parishes, has determined the clergy of this parish to offer to all who will the power of worshipping Him twice every day, and of

receiving the sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood every week. There will be prayers in this church (St. Sidwell's) every morning at ten, and there will be prayers at St. James's every afternoon at four; and there will, by God's permission, be the Holy Communion here every Sunday."

Mr. Browne also determined to wear the surplice in the pulpit, and so to carry out to the full his Bishop's wishes. He was so thoroughly in earnest, and both he and his devoted wife were so much beloved already in the parish, that, so long as he remained, matters were quiet. When, however, in the following year he left St. Sidwell's, the pent-up ill-feeling broke out all the more vehemently, and took the form of riots, which threw the city into uproar and confusion. Mr. Browne's unlucky successor at St. Sidwell's, Mr. Courtenay, was so much troubled and harassed by a disturbance which interfered sorely with all his work, and with his chances of living at peace with his parishioners, that the troubles probably caused, or at any rate hastened, his death. One of the lighter features of this controversy may be seen in an epigram which was printed in one of the local newspapers soon after Mr. Browne had left Exeter:—

"A very pretty public stir
Is getting up at Exeter
About the surplice fashion;
And many angry words and rude
Have been bestowed upon the feud,
And much unchristian passion.

"For me, I neither know nor care
Whether a parson ought to wear
A black dress or a white dress,
Filled with a trouble of my own—
A wife who lectures in her gown,
And preaches in her nightdress!"

Bishop Medley, at that time Mr. Browne's neighbour in

Exeter, wrote, some years later, a letter which glances at their life in those early days.

"In this barren;and desolate shore," he writes, "every trace of England is precious ; and I love to think of our snug little evenings at the Dean's, where we undertook a task for which you were really fitted, of interpreting the Minor Prophets. Like all human efforts, we did less than we intended, and never reached Zechariah, I believe, or never finished it. How well I recollect the exact spot where our footsteps turned opposite ways in those wet and miry evenings, and how often I longed to have a little more of your company."

The tone of affection and regret which runs through this letter is very touching. We see too how in these early days Mr. Browne impressed all who came in his way with his courtesy, affection, and soundness of learning and churchmanship.

It was during their brief stay at Exeter, which between St. James's and St. Sidwell's did not occupy quite two years, that their eldest child, Alice, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Browne. She was born at the White Hart, Bath. They had been on a visit to their kinsfolk at Rushden Hall, and were travelling westward on their return. At that time the long Box Tunnel was not yet opened, and the last portion of the journey had to be taken in any rough vehicle which the Company could provide. Unfortunately their carriage was shaky and the road bad ; and the baby was born at Bath. She felt the consequences of this hasty entrance into the world, and although she lived almost to womanhood, she was from the beginning a helpless invalid, who demanded great care and attention, and, as is so generally the case with those for whom we have to supply either the physical strength or the mental power necessary for life, wound herself very tightly round their heartstrings.

"There must be cloud," says Mrs. Harold Browne, "as well as sunshine in most lives, and, although we were blessed in never-failing love, we had great sorrows in the loss of six dear children. Our eldest child was an invalid from her birth, having been shaken into the world by a rough journey from an unfinished railway line between Oxford and Bath, where she was prematurely born in 1841; she lived to be seventeen years old, and although she was perfectly made and quite sensible, she was never able to control any of her muscles, and was obliged to be held in the arms of others, even when sitting or lying down. She had high spirits notwithstanding, and a great sense of fun, laughing heartily at any amusing story either read to her or in conversation. She inherited her father's love for animals and had many pets; one dog especially watched over her.

"I have given this account of our dear Alice, as her state of health greatly affected her father, who was quite devoted to her and constantly tired himself by carrying her about in his arms. This also often prevented my going with my husband to Cambridge or elsewhere on his duties; so we were often separated, but we never failed to write to one another every day. Our second child, Edith, was born at Ivy Cottage, Exeter, and went with us to Lampeter, where two years after she was taken from us by scarlet fever after only two days' illness. Three sons and one little daughter were born at Lampeter, only two of whom lived to grow up, Harold and Barrington. Thirlwall, Robert, and Dorothea were born at Kenwyn, and have been mercifully spared to us. Beatrice and Walter died at Exeter when quite young. A baby's death almost breaks one's heart at the time, however well we know that they are taken in love to their Saviour's bosom. My dear husband's heart was sorely tried by these bereavements, and for the first seventeen years of our married life the clouds seemed more felt than the sunshine. But there is 'a silver lining to every cloud,' and the great kindness and sympathy of our relations and friends, and the love of our dear children, and our deep love for one another, enabled us by God's blessing to live happily in the beautiful homes which afterwards fell to our lot. We lived in fourteen different homes during the fifty years of our married life."

CHAPTER III.

VICE-PRINCIPAL OF LAMPETER COLLEGE.

THE license of Mr. Courtenay as new Incumbent of St. Sidwell's, Exeter, is dated August 19th, 1843 ; so that Mr. Browne had charge of that parish just eighteen months. He now removed from Exeter to Lampeter College, of which he had been appointed Vice-Principal. The place deserves more than a passing notice. It lies in the Vale of the Teify, one of the most beautiful salmon rivers in South Wales, and is in the diocese of St. David's, in a pleasing and hilly district. In 1843, it was little more than a village, with a population of less than a thousand ; it consisted of one long street, wide and straggling, with small stone houses on either side, the roofs of which were thatched and blackened by the smoke of peat-fuel dug from the neighbouring bogs. The neighbourhood was thinly peopled with Welsh-speaking inhabitants. There was a fair grammar-school ; and at such schools, up to the second quarter of this century, Welsh lads ambitious of Holy Orders were mainly educated. Of special training there was hardly a trace. Struck by the crying wants of his diocese, Bishop Burgess had determined to set aside a tenth of his income towards the establishment and endowment of a College for theological students, and for eighteen years, nearly the whole time of his sojourn at St. David's, he steadily accumulated capital for this purpose. Roused by his enthusiasm,

friends of the Principality in England and Wales sent him no little help ; he also received £1,000 from King George IV.

In 1822 he opened his Welsh Theological College, though without buildings. These soon followed ; and by 1827 the College at Lampeter was built, at a cost of £20,000 ; in the following year it was incorporated by Royal Charter, and in 1829 formally opened and occupied by the students. It consisted of a chapel, a hall and library, rooms for scholars, and houses for the professors. It stands picturesquely on the site of the ancient castle, of which the keep, a big mound planted with trees, with a walk climbing up it and a summer-house with a fine view at the top, is in the garden of the Vice-Principal, and was a favourite retreat of Mr. Browne.

"The Vice-Principal's house was," says Mr. Browne's successor, "an ugly little plastered rough-cast villa outside, with sufficient and convenient accommodation within ; the drawing-room was very pleasant, the other two rooms were small."

For twenty years from the time of its opening, St. David's College had been very much out of the world. The nearest town, Llandovery, was twenty-two miles off ; access to it was by a stage coach, over roads none too good or easy. The Bishop had placed the College there because he wished the students to run into no social temptations ; a considerate thought, which unfortunately worked very ill ; for the lads often needed cultivation and the refinements of life, and, left to themselves, were by no means unwilling to take their recreation in the village ale-house, from which the advantages of better society might have weaned them.

The form of constitution favoured by Bishop Burgess, and laid down by Charter, was also unfortunate. The Bishop of St. David's was permanent Visitor, and the Dean

of St. David's Principal; a scheme which worked badly, as the Dean took small share in the actual teaching, knew little of the needs of students, and yet had almost autocratic power over the finance, the commissariat, and the domestic management of the College. With the best of Deans this arrangement would have been unfortunate; as it was, here lay the main difficulty for the young Institution. In addition to this drawback, which placed responsibility without authority on the Vice-Principal's shoulders, Lampeter had other sources of difficulty: these were, first, the want of a sufficient endowment, in consequence of which the education could not be made so cheap and economical as was desirable for poor students; secondly, the College could not grant Degrees, till 1853, when it received the power of conferring only those of B.A. and B.D.; then, the students were painfully unprepared at starting; and lastly, the English bishops, and even some Welsh, regarded men who had been trained at Lampeter with a chilling coldness.

Dr. Ollivant, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, was the first Vice-Principal, and held the office till the year 1843, when he was called back to Cambridge as Regius Professor of Divinity.

The following letter, from the Dean of St. David's, began the negotiation which ended in the transference of Mr. Browne, his family and interests, from Exeter to Lampeter:—

“ST. DAVID'S COLLEGE,

“April 10th, 1843.

“REVEREND SIR,—You may possibly have heard that Dr. Ollivant, the new Regius Professor at Cambridge, occupied for many years the office of V.-P. (with the Professorship of Hebrew) at this College. That office is still vacant, and your name having been mentioned to the Bishop of St. David's in very high terms, I am induced

thus to trespass upon you, to enquire whether you would be inclined to enter into a negotiation on the subject—if such a post would be likely to meet your wishes.

“There is a comfortable house, detached from the College, though in the grounds; a garden, stables, and coach-house. The rates and taxes of the premises are paid out of a common fund. The money income, I believe I may safely say, would average £600 per annum. The duties are not very onerous, consisting almost entirely in daily lectures with the Theological Class in Hebrew, Greek Testament, Pearson or Grotius, occupying on the whole about one and a half or two hours.

“A gentleman of the name of North is at present my only resident colleague. We are both married men with families. I mention this fact, as I understand you are yourself married, and I presume your lady would be interested in such an enquiry. In this remote country, it is well to be, in some degree at least, independent of external resources as to society. Begging the favour of a reply,

“I am, Reverend Sir,

“Your faithful servant,

“LLEWELYN LEWELLIN.

“THE REV. E. H. BROWNE.”

The communication was so unexpected that Mrs. Browne writes, “At that time we knew nothing of Lampeter, not even being quite sure as to where it was;” and it must have seemed like banishment to them. They had no connection with Wales; the position of St. David’s College was far from being secure; it seems strange that Mr. Browne should have entertained the proposal. There were, however, one or two good reasons for it. First, he had discovered that a large parish well worked was very exhausting to his strength; and there was also another and a very serious reason for a change. Mr. Browne’s obedience to his Bishop’s orders as to preaching in a surplice and daily prayers had offended many of his parishioners; and though, from respect for his personal character, they had not as yet broken out into active opposition, he felt that trouble

was in the air, and he must have keenly felt the risk he was running. He might any day have to face an outbreak ; and with an outbreak much of his influence on the parish would go at once, whatever might be the end of it. There was also, of course, the hope that at Lampeter there would be an improved income, with fewer calls on it.

The Head of his College, Dr. Archdall, in congratulating him on his appointment, makes the great mistake of thinking that he is going to a quiet scene of dignified repose.

"I trust," he says, "you will find comfort and repose and leisure at Lampeter, provided the 'Rebecca' rabble do not break in upon your peace and quiet. In going to settle yourself there you will not have many *turnpikes* to pay."

At the close of the summer vacation of 1843, Mr. Browne removed to Lampeter, reaching St. David's College at a time when the "Rebecca" riots were in full swing. The early numbers of the *Illustrated London News* contain fancy pictures of the doings of "Rebecca" and "Charlotte." These two personages, unmistakably men in size and walk, the sons of a Welsh nobleman, were not dressed as women, but wore shirts over their ordinary attire ; and in this garb headed the farmers and peasantry of South Wales in their practical protest against the turnpike system. The tolls were high, the bars frequent, and the tax pressed heavily on the farmers. Though the origin of the name "Charlotte" is uncertain, that of "Rebecca" is plain. As is so often the case in the nomenclature of peasant-revolt, it has its origin in Scripture, and is taken from Gen. xxiv. 60: "And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, . . . Let thy seed possess the gate of those that hate them." As the Vice-Principal's house at Lampeter was close to the turnpike gate, the Vicar of the parish warned the new comer

that any night he might be aroused by "Rebecca." He advised him to show no lights in any of the rooms, as it was one of the unwritten laws of "Rebecca" that those who made no sign should not be molested, while a light in a window would be sure to attract unpleasant attention. This precaution Mr. Browne unluckily could not take, for the little Alice must have a light in her room; and perhaps he was inclined to make little of the warning. If so, he was soon undeceived. A few days later, about two in the morning, the family were aroused by a volley of guns, and by the noise of the demolition of the gate; the light in a bedroom at once attracted the attention of the rioters, one of whom threw a turf and broke the window, to the alarm of the invalid child and her nurse; no other damage, happily, was done, and, as Mrs. Harold Browne said, "We always used to call it our first card." Later on, when, in other parts of Wales, the rioting became more serious, troops were called out, and the disturbances put down. The Welsh argument, however, prevailed; the heavy tolls were greatly reduced, and a better system began, which has since spread all over England and Wales.

The duties attached to the office of Vice-Principal at Lampeter were for the most part very congenial to Harold Browne. He had to give lectures in Dogmatic Theology, sometimes in Church History; he also taught Hebrew for the Old Testament, and Greek for the New; the drawback being that many of his pupils had to begin almost from the very rudiments, and rarely acquired more than the outlines of either language. In Dogmatic Theology, Mr. Browne's labours bore more fruit; for it is to the lectures at Lampeter that we owe his well-known "Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles."

He had such clearness and power of explanation, such

a gift of orderly arrangement of facts, such a pleasant utterance and moderation and winning friendliness of tone, that one of those who heard his lectures says that "they were all that first-rate lectures should be." As a preacher, also, he won golden opinions. For "his sermons," as the aged Archdeacon North says, in reminiscences of the Bishop written only a few months before his own death, "were plain in style, yet impressive from their earnest manner of delivery, full of instruction and of practical lessons. Many a clergyman," he adds, "now long established in the ministry throughout England and Wales, still remembers the valued addresses, which instructed their minds and told effectually on their hearts and lives. What especially marked his character was the spirit which affected all who were in contact with him, and who felt the subtle power of high character and example in a gifted man of God."

Mr. Browne soon encountered far more serious difficulties than were thrown in his way by the outbreaks of "Rebecca" and his rough company. The College, after about fourteen years of existence, had made but little progress, and, as one of the onlookers said, "Harold Browne in 1843 found it in the worst possible condition." It combined the rawness of a new institution with some of the abuses and laxity of administration which people associate with ancient foundations. The College had never had a fair chance; and the Professor, who went there eager for studious work and teaching, soon found himself confronted with some most trying questions of management. His seven years at Lampeter were a ceaseless struggle for the rule of common sense and honesty. A more harassing position can hardly be imagined. The problem was how to raise the intellectual and social standing of the students, while it was not possible to charge such fees as would provide funds for first-rate help; the bad system of the commissariat also made economies impossible.

The following letter from Bishop Thirlwall, addressed to Mr. Browne after he had left Lampeter, illustrates this point :—

“ABERGWILI, *March 12th*, 1850.

“MY DEAR SIR,—I find that some statements have been made lately in the *Daily News* by a person signing himself ‘Giraldus,’ to the effect that the regulation by which a certificate of two years’ residence at a Grammar School is required from candidates for admission at Lampeter has been frequently and notoriously violated. My attention was drawn to the subject by the Archdeacon of Cardigan, who added his own testimony as to one instance, the case of a person of the name of Green, who, as he states, was with him for five months, and having learnt the Latin Grammar had just crept into the Delectus and then ‘became without any certificate from him a member of St. David’s College.’ Do you remember such a person, and any of the circumstances of his admission? And are you able to inform me whether a certificate is actually required according to the letter and spirit of the regulation?”

“I wish to learn from you as exactly as I can how the case stands before I address the Dean on the subject. And I should be much obliged if you could suggest some mode of guarding against such abuses in future.

“I am, my dear Sir,

“Yours faithfully,

“C. ST. DAVID’S.”

“With difficulty,” says the Archdeacon, “he got Oxford and Cambridge examiners; all was irregular, in studies, finance, everything; he did much in the way of palliation and remonstrance.”

I am specially fortunate in having received from Canon J. J. Douglas, B.D., J.P. of Kirriemuir, N.B., a very graphic and pleasing picture of the outset of Harold Browne’s work at Lampeter. Canon Douglas was one of the students at the time of the new Vice-Principal’s arrival, and writes of him with vivid remembrance :—

“Dr. Ollivant had been a stiff and stern man, and did

not succeed in gaining the affection of the students. The new Vice-Principal soon succeeded where his predecessor had failed. I remember his figure perfectly well,—tall and graceful, with light hair, a slight stoop, and an amiable facial expression. His young wife we all thought a very charming person, and admired her extremely. They resided in the Vice-Principal's house a little to the north of the College. We often saw with great interest their little children as they were taken out by the nurse regularly for an airing in a small perambulator.

"The new Professor soon effected a great improvement in the religious tone of the College Chapel services, notably in the increased number and in the demeanour of the communicants. Mr. Browne's manner was indicative of unaffected reverence and devotion. His sermons I do not remember, but I know that we divinity students always looked forward to them as a great treat, and carefully attended to every word.

"At that period there were 'great searchings of heart' in regard to the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, and the Professor of course often discoursed upon it in the lecture room, and also in private conversations. A set of men called 'Saints' disliked this. The majority of the students, however, adopted the Professor's views as in harmony with the teaching of the Prayer-Book. A more faithful son of the English Church never existed. It was touching and beautiful to hear him speaking of her as 'My Mother'—'my Mother the Church of England.'

"The Professor took a lively and affectionate interest in all the Divinity students, and repeatedly invited those who cared to go to his private house. In his well-arranged drawing-room he used to give us an excellent tea and make us read Hooker and Pearson on the Creed, interspersed with his comments and interesting conversation. Mrs. Browne was generally present on these occasions. They were both particularly kind to us, and we in our turn were very grateful and conceived a great regard for them.

"The Professor was also an excellent Hebrew scholar, and evidently always carefully prepared his lecture on the Old Testament. We studied with him a large portion of the Book of Proverbs in the original. I can truly say that to him I owe not only my first religious impressions but also the principles of Church doctrine and practice. I

never can forget the kind instructions he gave me at my last *viva voce* examination in December 1844, just before I went up to York to be examined by the Archbishop's chaplains for Deacon's orders."

And the Vicar of Rhymney, Prebendary Evans, who left the College in 1848, and was therefore all his time, three years and a half, under Harold Browne, adds one or two touches to the picture :—

"He was," he says, "a tall, slender man with very long fingers. All the collegians looked up to him with the highest respect. His lectures on the Articles were so lucid, so well-arranged, and so exhaustive, that we signed a petition asking him to publish them. Such was the origin of the book which has ever since been the standard work on the Articles. His sermons were searching, incisive, and impressive. I often saw some of the students in tears when he was preaching. . . . He was remarkable for his gentleness and his genuine piety ; we all regarded him as an eminently pious man ; and he was so gentle that I never saw him in a passion. I never heard him utter a harsh word whatever the provocation might be."

In April 1848, Mr. Browne, descending some stairs, had a very severe fall, and was laid up in consequence ; his side, which had suffered once before from an accident in Switzerland, specially giving him pain. Rheumatic symptoms shewed themselves, and had to be treated with plasters and strong liniments. These successive injuries caused him trouble in after life, though he was, as a rule, a healthy man.

The domestic life of the young Professor at Lampeter was of untold value as a humanising element for the rougher Welsh students. Though his career there began in the midst of storm and clouds, his transparent goodness, his real sense of religion, as to which the Welsh are ever very sensitive, his gentle influence and unaffected kindness, before long made him very dear to the whole place,

students and inhabitants alike. Had he been a Welshman they could not have liked him better ; the impulsive element in the Welsh character was touched at once. Their servants clung to them affectionately and loyally ; their factotum, Daniel Ollivant, who had taken, according to the clannish Welsh usage, his late master's name, and was gardener, groom, coachman, and even sometimes waited at table, lived with them all the time they were at Lampeter ; one of their most favourite servants, Esther Davies, came to them at first in her pretty Welsh dress, and stayed in the household more than forty years, following the Bishop's fortunes from place to place with unswerving fidelity, watching like a mother over the children, and in the end marrying the Bishop's body-servant.

"The Bishop married them," says Mrs. Browne, "our daughter and a cousin being bridesmaids, and all our sons and Miss Browne being present."

This devotion of their servants bears eloquent testimony to the kindness and sympathetic consideration with which all were treated in that household ; it also unfortunately sometimes led to wastefulness on the part of the domestics. And an open-handed kindness, so liable to be imposed on right and left, marked all the dealings of the young Professor and his family with all around them.

Archdeacon North writes of these days :—

"'To do good and to distribute forget not' was a maxim which ruled the practice of both Mr. and Mrs. Harold Browne, with whom may be associated his sister Miss Browne, whose memory lives still in fond recollection of many friends of those distant days. . . . Poor and sick were blessed by benevolence, the unostentatious exercise of which distributed benefits known only to the recipients, excepting friendly observers, who could not fail to infer from their effects."

No wonder that Mrs. Harold Browne could say that

"we found the peasantry most warm-hearted people, grateful for any kindness shown them. They did not speak much English then, but we soon got to understand one another."

"Love will find out the way" is as true of Christian charity as of courtship. Let us see the warmth of their Celtic affections in the letter of "an old carpenter and great friend," as Mrs. Browne calls him, one Enoch Jones, who was moved by tidings of the Bishop's translation to the See of Winchester, long years after these Lampeter days, to write as follows :—

"I hope you will forgive poor old Enoch in taking such liberty in writing to you to express is feelings: when he herd that you was made Bishop of Winchester he cryed with joy and went to ask Esther Davis was it true? and when she answer yes my feelings went that I could harly speck with joy.—ENOCH JONES."

The young couple were open-handed up to and even beyond their means; and as the repute of the generosity of the Vice-Principal's house spread abroad, not only the inhabitants of Lampeter, but the Welsh from villages around, trooped in whenever they were in trouble, or could make it appear that they were. It is told of one old fellow from the hills, who had trudged in to Lampeter one day to see what he could get, that he came up the street asking, "Where is the gentleman who gives to all?" (*P'le mae'r gur boneddig sy'n rhoi i bawb?*), and when he heard that Mr. Browne had just bidden farewell to the College and was gone away for good, he filled the whole road with lamentation.

The influence Mr. Browne exercised over all around him was exactly what had been wanting at Lampeter before his time; one of his old pupils writes, "He had immense influence over the men, and raised the College to

a high standard." No one who has come under the influence of that beautiful life can ever forget it. Nor can it be wondered at that the houses in the country round (especially the houses of Mr. Brigstock of Blacnpant, Miss Webley Parry, and Mr. Charles Morris) were all thrown open gladly for the reception of the Vice-Principal and his wife. Now at one house, now at another, they spent a night or two, leaving behind them most pleasant memories.

"Our visits to the Bishop of St. David's" (Connop Thirlwall), says Mrs. Browne, "we always enjoyed; I think the most sociable time was at breakfast, when great discussions went on, not always learned. The Bishop was very fond of flowers and animals" [that large-souled nature of his could not help having sympathy enough and to spare for all manner of God's creatures]; "several cats and three dogs at least lived in the house; one dog called 'Wop' was an animal of great character, not always loved or even respected by the clergy. A large amount of bread and toast was collected after breakfast and taken by the Bishop to feed his birds in the aviary, and his 'gooseys,' as he called them, who came waddling up to the banks of the river as soon as they heard his voice. There were beautiful walks and drives about Abergwili (the Bishop's palace), and no lack of amusement indoors, for every book that came out seemed to find its way there. The Bishop used often of an evening to stand by the drawing-room chimney-piece, a book in one hand and a paper-cutter in the other, his eyes shut as if in sleep; yet he heard all that was said, and rather astonished his friends sometimes by making a sudden but very apt observation on what they had been saying. My husband valued his friendship exceedingly; it lasted till his death."

With his many lectures and conscientious determination to make his teaching as sound and good as possible, Mr. Browne's days were fully occupied; he learnt Welsh, and also Arabic and Syriac, which he studied by fixing up notes on grammar and vocabulary above his washstand, so that he might commit them to memory while he dressed;

profuse of money, he was chary of time, and throughout his life a rapid and diligent student. Nor did he forget the social interests of his students; from time to time they were invited to his house, that they might see a little of the pleasures of a refined and affectionate home-life. In these more social hours Mr. Browne gathered information from the young men regarding those points of bad management which so seriously injured the College, and were a continual trouble and annoyance to his upright and generous nature. Sometimes, the little parties turned to lighter things, and the evening was spent merrily enough in quiet games, or in composing poems and charades. Of these one or two have survived, and may be set down here as specimens of the simple amusements of a winter's night. The first is by Mr. Browne himself, an innocent charade:—

“ My first with even pace
Moves in unvaried round;
But as it moves it makes
What man's dull course will bound.

“ My next its warnings heed,
Warnings of fear and love,
Lord of the world below,
Heir to the world above.

“ Oft in the stilly night,
When slumber's chain hath bound us,
My whole with voice of night
His guardian care spreads round us.”

And no doubt the ancient guardian of the night often made the silent street of Lampeter echo with his cry.

Mrs. Harold Browne followed in a lighter strain, not fearing to make play with the arcana of women's dress; or Miss Browne, with her clever poetic turn, rose to a somewhat higher flight as she praised and sported with the incoming of spring.

When Mr. Browne had spent more than a year at Lampeter he was presented to the sinecure Rectory of Llandewi Velfrey in the county of Pembroke, with which went a Canonry or Prebend in St. David's Cathedral. This piece of preferment is in the gift of the College at Lampeter, and is usually held by the Vice-Principal as a help to his narrow income. The value of it is £200 a year. The spiritual care of the inhabitants, some six hundred in number, is entrusted to a Vicar, whose income is somewhat larger than that assigned to the Rector.

Mr. Browne set himself steadily to raise the level of the Church in Wales, by endeavouring to turn into it the religious enthusiasm of the Methodist preachers, by slaking the fiery Evangelicalism of Welsh churchmanship, and by providing the Church with well-equipped pastors.

The main difficulty lay in the relations between the Principal and the College. Nothing can exceed the severity with which the late Archdeacon of Cardigan speaks of these matters. One would gladly set such squalors aside and draw nothing but the brighter lights. Justice, however, to the College in its early struggles, and to the valiant young Vice-Principal, demands that the matter should not be passed over. As Archdeacon North sadly says:—

“The darker shades were a perpetual source of affliction to me and my dear colleagues the several Vice-Principals. . . . I bore the martyrdom, which also made the progress of the College hopeless, for some years afterwards.”

He characterises the evil as “thwarting a scheme of Sir T. Phillips, the generous donor of the Library,” and as a “positive obstruction to our progress.”

Whatever the Vice-Principal may have felt or thought, he seems to have laboured on in silence from 1843 to 1848, and only to have begun to shew signs of restlessness in

that famous "year of revolutions." The temper of the time perhaps even penetrated to Lampeter, and set students and tutors moving against an irresponsible despotism. What, however, appears to have roused Mr. Browne to open action was the rumour which reached Lampeter to the effect that another and a rival institution was about to be established by the Bishop of St. David's at Llandovery; this apparently set him enquiring how the Lampeter College could be made more efficient and more economical, so as to meet the strain of competition. He also wrote a letter on the subject to the Bishop, which shews that his mind was turning towards work in his old University of Cambridge, and that his friends there had not lost sight of or forgotten him. We have not the actual letter sent by the Vice-Principal to the Bishop of St. David's, but only Mr. Browne's draft, with phrases which may have afterwards been altered. Such as it is, in the great dearth of materials for this period of the Bishop's life we give it as it stands. The paper is undated; it belongs to the summer of 1848:—

"MY LORD,—I may well apologise to your Lordship for venturing to trouble you with a subject almost entirely concerning myself. To detain you as little as I can, some friends of mine at Cambridge (for whom I entertain considerable respect) have begged me to become a candidate for the Professorship of Hebrew soon likely to be vacant, with an assurance that I have a good prospect of success, as some of the probable candidates are not likely from various causes to meet with support. (I bear a better character than, I fear, I deserve.) My first reply was that I did not think I should succeed; that I did not think myself qualified to compete with such persons as Dr. Mill, etc.,—did not think it right to take an office for which others were better fitted, and for which I feared I was not qualified; and lastly that I felt it my duty not to leave a post in which I hoped I was useful, for one for which I might not be so well qualified. The two former objections have been

combated by my friends with various arguments. The last alone is that on which I take the liberty of writing to your Lordship.

"It has been forced on my notice lately that the College to which I am attached is in a very precarious position. Popular opinion runs strongly against some things connected with it. Even the improvements lately introduced, whilst they have had no time to produce good fruit, have tended to frighten many from coming to us, and to make them look out for an easier as well as a cheaper passport to Ordination. Just at the same moment springs up the school at Llandovery,—not a school, but 'an institution between a grammar school and a university.' The general feeling of the people is that it is to supersede Lampeter, and the enthusiasm with which it was welcomed a few days since has of course tended to strengthen this belief. How far it is the wish of some connected with it that this should be the case remains to be seen. I need hardly tell your Lordship that if young men imagine they can finish their education at such a place as Llandovery, they will never incur the additional expense of going to Lampeter. Thus, just at the time when in one department at least most important improvements were making, there seems considerable danger that the College will almost cease to exist.

"It would be very impertinent in me to ask your Lordship to express on this subject any opinion, beyond what you may be inclined to give. But I trust you will allow me to put it in the following point of view.

"A month ago I gave up all thought of being a candidate for the Professorship at Cambridge, in great degree because I thought Lampeter a most important post, because (however small my abilities and however cramped by circumstances) I thought and hoped I was of use there, and because, though not a very desirable place of residence, yet I had there the means of maintaining my family. I knew indeed then that the College was in bad odour. Yet I hoped, from the many marks of respect I continually received, that I was not the cause of its low esteem. Since that time, however, I have seen reason to think and know that others, less interested, think that without strong support the College must go. In that case I should lose at once the means of being useful and of providing for my family, and should retire from a sphere of labour in which

I had worked, unsuccessfully perhaps, but to the best of my power and against great disadvantages, with discredit if not disgrace.

"How this may turn out must in some degree depend on the view your Lordship may take of it. I do not mean that your Lordship can fully control events or opinions. But they will be materially influenced by your [judgment], and I should feel greatly obliged if you could, consistently with your own views of prudence, give me, in strict confidence, such a degree of light on the prospects of the College as may serve to direct me a little in my present difficulties."

Bishop Thirlwall's reply, dated July 17th, 1848, endeavours to shew that the proposed Llandovery "Institution" ought not to affect the fortunes of Lampeter unfavourably, not being 'in pari materie,' and ends with a rather frigid phrase, asking the Vice-Principal not to go away. It seems evident from the manner of the letter, that though Bishop Thirlwall did not pay much heed to the Llandovery scare, he still did not doubt that Mr. Browne was wise in thinking about a move to some more congenial and permanent post.

The subject of a Training College for Welsh Clergy, and the scheme of a separate Welsh University, were much debated during the summer months of 1848. Sir Thomas Phillips, who had been a munificent benefactor to Lampeter, appears to have suggested the plan to the Welsh Episcopate and clergy. The Welsh Bishops, however, jealous of anything which might seem to tend towards severance from England, and not so proud as they might have been of the ancient British Church of which they are, in a sense, the representatives, were definitely opposed to the scheme; and Bishop Thirlwall, the fourth of them, writing on August 5th, 1848, after having seen the written opinions of the other three, summed up the opposition in a strong letter to Sir Thomas Phillips.

All this set of Welsh opinion was very alarming to those whose interests and work were bound up with the prosperity of Lampeter. Mr. Browne, Mr. North, and perhaps one or two outside friends, held anxious discussions as to the right course to be taken: it is plain that the Vice-Principal, while he was ready to face any difficulties which might arise, was at the same time thinking about withdrawal from the scene. His peaceful disposition and sensitiveness made him reluctant to give pain, if it could be avoided. We may imagine how unwillingly he set himself about this time to write the following letter to the Principal of St. David's College, Dr. Lewellin, whom he rightly regarded as the chief difficulty in the way of such a reform as might, with vigorous and capable teaching and administration, win for the College the confidence of students and a much needed modicum of success. The letter is undated and (being only a draft) has been left in an unfinished state:—

"MY DEAR DR. LEWELLIN,—I should much prefer speaking, but that in communications of importance mistakes are prevented by writing. And I should be very sorry to express myself so that you should misunderstand me.

"I write to you now because I feel that our existence as a body is not only threatened, but in imminent danger of dissolution. I am myself so little satisfied with our position that, unless we right, I shall seek some other sphere of action; and I hope it will not be thought by you arrogant or offensive if I add that one strong reason which weighed with me against becoming a candidate for the Professorship at Cambridge was the assurance, which had previously been given me in several quarters, that if [I] have to leave the College it would be the signal for its speedy and probably total dissolution. Had I heard nothing but this, I should have been sufficiently aware of our dangerous position. But I have heard a great deal more, and am sure that we are now so out of favour with the higher powers, with the clergy, and *most of all* with

the gentry, that nothing but a vigorous effort can save us, and this, I fear, may be too late. I have never before fully entered on the topics on which I now propose to write, because I have feared to moot questions which might disturb that feeling of friendship which has existed, and I trust will yet exist, between us, and might interfere with the harmony of the collegiate body. But I now have come to the conclusion that I must do so or go; and that, if we cannot make some changes which will bring us the confidence of the public, we must make up our minds to retire in favour of Archdeacon Williams [*i.e.* of Llandoverly].

"The two things about which I have long heard the greatest complaints are :—

"1st. The inefficiency of our examinations, and the very unqualified men we have admitted to the College. This I have always strongly felt; and have therefore always been an advocate for examiners from without. Their appointment will, I hope, in a measure remedy the defect and remove the complaint.

"2nd. The expense of the education here; the fact that the affairs of the College are all administered by one, and that the most irresponsible, member of it; that the Principal is at once tutor, bursar, steward, and even farmer and butcher; and that the accounts are not sufficiently public.

"I am naturally very unwilling to allude to this, but I hear of it in all directions, and I am sure that it raises the strongest prejudice and the hardest suspicions against you everywhere. I do not wish to conceal from you that I have from the first personally felt that in many points there was an absolute control exercised in the College utterly inconsistent with the constitution of a corporate body, utterly unlike what is exercised in any other College in the kingdom, and particularly unlike that which in the original constitution of this College was evidently contemplated. I have, however, endeavoured to suppress any feelings of the kind which were chiefly personal, and speak now from public motives.

"I have constantly had to defend you from accusations which are current against you; and I am sure you are in no degree aware of the intensity of the public feeling on this head.

"The two points especially objected to in this particular are the management of the Scholarship fund, to which I have already called your attention, and the providing of

the dinner. The former you have already given attention to, and have done what I should have thought enough to satisfy objections. The latter I should earnestly wish you to take into serious consideration. The last year that we audited, the dinners came to £17 10s. to each man on the average. The greatest number of weeks that we ever reside is twenty-seven, giving about 13s. a week, or nearly 2s. a day, for each man's dinner,—considerably more than it costs in either University. I am inclined to think that a better mode of purveying would remedy this.

“I may add that one of the greatest causes of public indignation is that you provide the College from your own farm. Whatever advantages may accrue from this, it is so very unpopular a thing that I cannot but hope you will give it up.”

The evils which goaded Mr. Browne to write this letter must have become an intolerable burden before he could have been moved to take such decided action.

And the letter was, in fact, the preface to a series of Resolutions to be laid before the Bishop of St. David's. Mr. Browne had now received from the Bishop of Exeter the offer of the important living of Kenwyn, near Truro, and he felt that a man on the point of departure might speak his mind with freedom and break through the crust of bad custom, and so leave to his successor a much better chance of raising the College than he himself had enjoyed. He would avoid the likelihood of a quarrel, and of unpleasant communications with the Principal; while his successor would arrive without any prejudice against him, and would be able to take up and carry on the requisite reforms without so much difficulty.

In a second letter to his sister, dated October 31st, 1849, he reviews the position clearly:—

“The Canonry (at St. David's) is not bribe enough. I would rather have Kenwyn without, than Lampeter with, a Canonry. But we all fear that it may be a duty not to leave St. David's in such a pinch of need. Melvill, you

see, is like a man beside himself. But the Bishop's letter, *for him*, is unusually strong and warm. I have written again to both, combating their conclusions; but I feel that if they are right we must sacrifice wishes to duty. And Lizzy feels it most of all, and never offers one argument for Kenwyn. It is a sad trial to us. It did seem as if a ray of sunshine had at length fallen upon us. Now it is all dark again, as far as this world goes. May God give us grace to judge and act rightly."

It was probably with Kenwyn in view that, on the 7th of November, 1849, Harold Browne addressed another long letter to the Principal, of which we have the draft:—

"S. D. C., November 7th, 1849.

"MY DEAR MR. DEAN,—This is a time of no small anxiety to me. It happens also to be one of no ordinary interest to the whole College and the Church in South Wales. In some respects I see the hope of brighter prospects. But I feel quite sure that it is now a question of the greatest moment, what steps the College itself takes. It may either sink altogether, or be the chief educator of the clergy of Wales.

"My remaining here is very uncertain. On the whole it is more likely that I shall not. But it is my earnest wish, whether I go or stay, to secure the best interests of the College at this crisis, and I may add your own. I have already opened a question with you to which I now recur. The dissatisfaction which I have said prevails concerning the internal management I have every reason to believe increases. I fully expect that if I leave the College, as there will be some change by that movement, so it will be a signal for an explosion of such feelings, unless something be done to soothe and satisfy them.

"I have felt my own position overpoweringly painful, from the consciousness that we are the objects of general suspicion, and that I had no power to remove it. And should circumstances lead me to remain here, I could not consent to do so without first stipulating that the whole management of the College should be put on such a footing as to satisfy the public, and to enable me to feel that our labours here were not both useless and thankless. On the other hand, if I leave the College, I have hitherto

felt that my post was on these accounts so difficult, and that if my predecessor had acted as I now propose to act it would have been so much easier, that I am determined not to go without endeavouring to persuade you to adjust matters so that hereafter the College and my successor may have a less difficult game to play.

"I trust that in this you will feel that I am actuated by no motive but a sense of duty. I may add, a sense of duty to myself as well as to others, for so I feel that I may be the means of freeing you from the distressing suspicions which rest on *you*, even more than on all besides.

"You know that the accounts are the chief ground of complaint. I am *sure* that an enquiry will be demanded from without, if it be not first courted from within. Let me beg you to anticipate the demand, and so place yourself on a much better footing than you could otherwise occupy.

"But the accounts are not the only subject of complaint. Another is that the business of the College is transacted by one person. This is protested against as giving no security to the public against mismanagement. It is added that the Principal, as being the least easily called to account, is the very last member of the College who ought to have such power entrusted to him.

"If you knew what is said on this subject you would not think me unreasonable in urging it on you. I have reason to think that all connected with the College are as well aware as I am of what I say, and fully agree in my view of the question. But I am in that position which calls on me to be the mover; and though the position be a painful one I am resolved not to shrink from it. That my conduct in this is that of your true friend I am also well assured; though I am always afraid that it may appear otherwise to you.

"The proposal which I am prepared to make, is that henceforth the affairs of the College of all kinds be conducted strictly after the model of University Colleges. I should propose to divide the accounts and management between three persons, as they are divided there; which will prevent the danger of such suspicions being allowed to rest on one. I should propose audits by the whole corporate body twice yearly. I should propose that all business be transacted in regular formal College meetings, everything done by College order, entered regularly in the

order or minute book, and that everything be constantly open to the inspection of any persons who have a reasonable claim to demand it.

"How it may be best to give effect to these proposals I am not quite certain. But one of these two modes I will suggest. Either let a committee of clergymen from different parts of the diocese be appointed to inspect matters and report, or else, let the whole corporate body, yourself, Archdeacon Bevan, Melvill, North, and myself, meet, with the sanction of the Bishop, and make future arrangements, as well as consider any subject of accounts which may seem to them desirable. I am ready to submit my own proposals to them.

"I will only add that concerning the providing of dinners, I propose that it be done as at the Universities, by contract with the cook or butler, or any other person who will contract for them on fair terms.

"I can assure you of my firm persuasion that such arrangements as I now propose are not only likely to save the College from utter ruin, but will place you in a position in every way higher than that which you now occupy, a position free from suspicion, and, I incline to believe, [of] much more certain if not much greater pecuniary advantages—and one much more resembling the post of the dignified head of a College, and less resembling that of the master of a common grammar school.

"Believe me that though I feel my first duty is to try and save the College (and if I do not do it, no one else will), yet it is my hope and earnest desire to serve you also. I see that I can do this only by distinctly and definitely proposing the arrangements I have already referred to, as the sole conditions on which I will consent to remain in the College, if I determine to remain; and as my distinct proposals now as a member of the corporate body, before I leave it, in case of my determining to go into Cornwall.

"I have written this, as I generally do when I have important business to discuss, as far better than speaking. I trust you will give it your best consideration, and believe me that, whether here or in Cornwall, yourself and the College will both be the objects of my sincere interest and regard, as you are daily the subject of the prayers of,

"My dear Mr. Dean,

"Yours very sincerely,

"E. HAROLD BROWNE."

This remarkable letter is more eloquent in what it does not say than in what it does. The very vagueness of it leaves an impression that there were unlimited grounds for dissatisfaction, and that things were on the edge of a kind of revolution. Harold Browne was to be the Mirabeau of the movement, which should end, not in the overthrow of the autocrat, but in the substitution of constitutional in the place of irresponsible government. The Vice-Principal was a conservative reformer, aiming at a reform which should be carried out along lines well known, tried, and found successful—at least to a certain point—in the ancient Universities.

Dean Lewellin appears to have received his Vice-Principal's remonstrance in the same friendly spirit in which it was penned. He replied without bitterness, expressing himself ready to meet Mr. Browne and to consider the suggestions laid before him in the letter given above ; and to his note we have this reply :—

“ S. D. C., *November 12th*, 1849.

“ MY DEAR MR. DEAN,—I write to tell you that I have accepted the offer of the Bishop of Exeter, and therefore must consider my days at Lampeter as numbered. I need hardly tell you that I shall not leave it without many and deep regrets, though I trust I am doing right, and hope for a blessing on my future undertaking. I hope we shall one day be able to persuade Mrs. Lewellin and yourself to pay us a visit in our future home, if it please God to spare us all.

“ I am much obliged by your kind note, and for your readiness to meet my proposals. I thought, even if I stayed, and I still more think now that I am to go, that it will be on all accounts desirable that any new arrangements should be discussed by a committee and not by us two alone. I shall soon have ceased to be a member of the College. And if, as I am sure is the case, there is any unfavourable spirit abroad, it will probably be allayed by a meeting of that nature, and arrangements may be so made more readily than any other way.

"I should propose that you, as Principal, summon a meeting of the whole body, as soon as Melvill returns from town. I will lay before them my own views, which I shall be happy to talk over with you first, if you desire it. They are simply, as I mentioned to you, to assimilate this College to an University College. I hope not to be obliged to leave this till the end of term, when I shall have completed six years and a half of residence. I trust my successor will be a more efficient and a more prosperous man than I have been here, and that the College will soon rise out of the cloud which has lately obscured it.

"Yourself and Mrs. Lewellin will have our best hopes and prayers for your happiness and comfort here and hereafter.

"Believe me, my dear Mr. Dean,

"Very sincerely yours,

"E. HAROLD BROWNE."

CHAPTER IV.

VICAR OF KENWYN AND KEA.

WHILE this negotiation was going on, Mr. Browne, though he reserved his right to remain at Lampeter, had made up his mind to leave the College.

On the one hand his friends at Cambridge, on the other side the Bishop at Exeter, were eager to tempt him back to them. In the same month Mr. Browne was assailed from both sides. From Cambridge came a letter from Dr. Archdall, the Head of his College, urging him to become a candidate for the Norrisian Professorship, likely to be vacated by the promotion of Professor Corrie. He also received a letter from the Bishop of Exeter ; so that before he began to deal with Dean Lewellin, he knew that the road was open for his retreat, should the position at Lampeter become untenable.

The Bishop offered him the large and valuable benefice of Kenwyn-cum-Kea, in Cornwall. He writes :—

“ I scrupled to make the offer to you, because I feared that by your removal I should rob the Church in South Wales of one of its best supports. I have, however, lately heard that the health either of yourself or Mrs. Browne makes you desirous of establishing yourself in Cornwall. This intelligence has removed every scruple, and I no longer hesitate to offer you that Vicarage, with a Prebend (very ill-endowed) in the Cathedral at Exeter, and my Chaplaincy for Cornwall.

"The income of Kenwyn is, I believe, between £500 and £600 per annum net, after paying large outgoings for curates, etc. The Prebend is merely sufficient to pay the expenses of journeying to Exeter to preach your turns in the Cathedral. The Chaplaincy carries with it only burthens; yet of such a kind as will, I hope, accord with your own Church feelings, for I shall need a confidential assistant in Cornwall.

If the offer is satisfying to you, I shall rejoice to have brought you back to the diocese of Exeter. At all events I have pleasure in thus testifying my high estimation of you.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Yours sincerely,

"H. EXETER."

From Cambridge also came a hint that he might be made Regius Professor in succession to Ollivant.

"Harold says," writes Mrs. Browne, "there never was any man made *so miserable* by having the best preferment of two dioceses thrust upon him, with the addition of a Regius Professorship in the distance!"

We have in a letter from Mr. Browne to his favourite sister, a sketch of his views as to Kenwyn. It is obvious that his heart went out towards the proposal, and that, if duty would allow, inclination was hot for the change.

"Kenwyn," he says, "is beautifully situated, an excellent house, on a hill about a mile from Truro. All the town population is divided into districts, in which there are separate district churches and clergymen. The church is easy to fill, the place, I believe, very healthy, the population rural. The Prebend may be a step to a Canonry, for the Canons elect out of the Prebendaries. It is close to Lizzy's family. The house is large and good, almost too large. These are the pros. The cons are, leaving the Bishop of St. David's, Melvill, and Mr. North, and leaving this College to get more in the mud than ever, I fear. The population of Kenwyn, though not large now, is scattered; and less of income. I should have probably

£700 instead of £900 a year. But I always fear Lampeter may fail at any time. Kenwyn is a good living, and there are other advantages."

Mr. Browne appears to have deferred his reply to the Bishop of Exeter till the day before that on which he dates his first communication to the Dean of St. David's. On the 6th of November he notifies to Bishop Philpotts that he desires to accept his offer. No wonder: whether one looks at Lampeter or at Kenwyn, there was much to turn the scale in favour of the latter. The new post would be a return to clerical from professional or scholastic work; and Mr. Browne's mind ever turned towards the duties of the priest rather than towards those of the prophet. Next, the move would be a rise from a subordinate to an independent position; from being under an unsympathetic Principal, to a place of honour as the trusted adviser for Cornwall of the Bishop of the diocese. He also thought it would be of real benefit to his family. At Lampeter neither wife nor children seemed strong and well; to go to Kenwyn was to take Mrs. Browne back to the place where she had spent her youth, where she was much beloved, where her father was living honoured of all. And one can well believe that the work at the College was much against the collar; the Welsh students were discontented with the management; there was no buoyancy about the work, but rather a feeling of precariousness. Any day there might be an explosion, after which he would find himself left with the weight of failure and of poverty on his shoulders. It was of this time that Mrs. Browne, speaking one day to Mrs. North, the wife of his most zealous and capable colleague, exclaimed in despair, "If Harold remains here longer he will go mad!" And, lastly, the kind-hearted Vice-Principal saw in the remove a painless way of putting a stop to that large

expenditure in charity which had in the six years of his Lampeter life made him a prey to every needy person, worthy or unworthy, who could get access to him and could wheedle the shillings out of his pocket.

And so the balance dipped towards Cornwall. Mr. Browne had consulted friends whom he trusted, and especially Bishop Thirlwall.

The Bishop of St. David's clearly saw that Mr. Browne could come to no other conclusion, for he writes, even before the communications with the Dean, the following letter:—

“*ABERGWILI, November 1st, 1849.*”

“MY DEAR SIR,—I felt myself bound, for the sake of the College and the diocese, to set before you all the circumstances depending on my own will, which might by possibility induce you to stay with us. But I did not imagine that they could have any great weight with you, so far as your own interest is concerned. And after the statement contained in your last letter I must say that I cannot even so much as wish to persuade you to come to a different resolution from that which you would have adopted if you had not heard from me, or from Mr. Melvill. Great as will be my concern for the public loss, it would only be exchanged for a different kind of regret, which I should never cease to feel, if I had induced you to make such a sacrifice of your domestic happiness as would evidently be involved in your retaining your present situation. I would rather beg you at once to abandon all thoughts of such a sacrifice, which I really think is not called for by any consideration of duty. You will certainly have made sacrifice enough, and will perhaps have conferred the most important of all benefits on the College, if you adopt the course which you suggest, of bringing its affairs into a better train, and of giving occasion for some provisions which may guard against the recurrence of past abuses. This is the only favour which I can now request from you, and I believe that you are the only person from whom I could expect ever to receive such a one. And unless some such step be taken by a person occupying a like position in the College, I see no prospect, or even

possibility, of any reformation. I hear painful reports in various quarters of surmises and suspicions with regard to the management of the College, but they do not afford me, as Visitor, sufficient ground for taking the initiative in instituting an official enquiry, which nevertheless appears to have become necessary, if it were only to satisfy the public mind. If set on foot by you, it would undoubtedly be conducted in the way most likely to lead to a happy result.

“Yours faithfully,

“C. ST. DAVID’S.”

Mr. Browne's decision brought the subject of a change in the College administration to a point. He felt that it was the time for him to speak out; and drew up a plan for the redistribution of powers and functions, for the better adjustment of finance, and for the creation of a governing body, composed of the members of the College staff. The scheme appears to have been something of this kind: Taking a Cambridge College as the type, he proposed—(1) That finance and management should be entrusted to three persons, and that the whole staff (or corporate body) should act as auditors twice a year; (2) That all College business should be transacted in formal College meeting, with a proper minute-book containing the “Acta” of such meetings; (3) That, with the sanction and approval of the Bishop as Visitor of the College, the corporate body, consisting of the Principal, the Vice-Principal, Mr. Melvill, Mr. North, and the Archdeacon of Cardigan, should form a committee to meet and draw out a scheme of management.

This scheme, in form of resolutions, Mr. Browne submitted to Bishop Thirlwall; who approved of it, accepted it, and convened a meeting of the College staff. At this meeting Mr. Browne moved his resolutions, which were at once adopted, as the basis of an entirely new administration.

Mr. North, afterwards Archdeacon of Cardigan, was appointed the first "Steward," with charge of the actual catering and the financial affairs of the College—the side on which reform was most needed—and he "with much care and method readjusted the management of supplies, and reduced the charges on these accounts for the students to one-half their former amount, and all this with an improved arrangement for their comfort."

Thereupon Mr. Browne began to make preparations for departure. This, as may well be believed, elicited a chorus of regrets from all his Lampeter friends. The inhabitants stood aghast at the news.

The Bishop of the diocese speaks in terms of strong regret when he hears of it :—

"I shall always," he says, "feel myself under obligations to you for the benefits you have conferred on the College and the diocese by your residence among us."

The students of the College, who, some little time before, had joined in memorialising the Vice-Principal, begging him to publish his lectures on the Articles, directly they heard of his going collected a considerable sum of money, and had his portrait painted by Graves, to be placed in the College Hall, where it hangs, as a memorial of the best beloved of those men of mark who have struggled as Vice-Principals to lift the unwilling Institution to a higher level. Towards this portrait the poor parent of one of the students sent the considerable subscription of £3, with his regrets that "the College has been deprived of his valuable services, as well as that the 'poor and broken in spirit' in this neighbourhood have lost the Christian succour of one of the most kind-hearted and benevolent of men."

Many years after, when Dr. Jayne, then Principal, now Bishop of Chester, wrote to invite the Bishop of Winchester (April 1880) to revisit the College, he says : " It would give the greatest pleasure not only to the College Board and to your old pupils, but to the whole town of Lampeter, in which your memory is warmly cherished."

Very soon after Mr. Browne had left the College came a supplemental charter granting to the governing body of St. David's College the power of conferring the degree of Bachelor of Divinity on such students as had duly passed through the course ; and on the first occasion of conferring Degrees, in June 1853, a banquet was held in honour of this marked advance in the fortunes of the College. The chair was taken by the Principal, Dean Lewellin, who with excellent tact and temper made no allusion to the changes which Mr. Browne had brought about, changes which must have been very distasteful to him ; for, if many men have been pleased with themselves for resigning their crown, none have ever felt gratified at being deposed. " In proposing the health of their late colleague, Mr. Harold Browne, the Principal spoke warmly of the many excellent and amiable qualities which distinguish that gentleman : his nice sense of honour, his strict impartiality, his great zeal, his piety and unequalled charity ;" all which was true and generously said. It is strange, however, that he made no reference to the most marked characteristic of all, Mr. Browne's great stores of learning and mastery of his subjects, and the clearness and ability with which he handled the topics on which he lectured.

One of his old pupils, in January 1850, contributed to the pages of the Haverford-West newspaper the following sketch :—

" In person, Professor Browne is tall, too tall for his breadth. He has a very pleasing countenance, approaching

to handsome, and has what is called a young look ; but what is most remarkable about it is its expression—open and benignant, in nothing common or trivial, but almost invariably betokening strong force of character. His actions correspond : there is nothing frivolous about them, nothing of the business man, nothing hurried, but mostly calm, collected, earnest, gentlemanly, strong. In the pulpit, he is quite *sui generis*, not eloquent, but always to the point ; argumentative, aiming to instruct rather than to persuade—to dazzle he never tried. His language is condensed, never quaint ; his ideas as it were overleap his words, which latter are simple and arranged with very slight regard to rhythm. His manner of delivery is modest—too modest, but energetic in the extreme : as earnest as any pious man can wish it. His voice deep and loud, not much varied or over-musical, and emitted, as a singer would say, in the *staccato* style ; or one may say as well, very emphatically. In the lecture-room he is surprising for the extent and soundness of his learning, for the vast amount of comment he is able to make on the text in hand, which he delivers with difficulty, but with a perfect abandonment, except where he has occasion to give an opinion of his own ; then his modesty creates an evident change of manner. In explaining a point he turns it over and over again, so as to make it intelligible, one would think, to the meanest capacity in the room. He never affects display ; never utters what he thinks irrelevant ; never aims at amusing. . . . To sum up, he is always to the point, seldom overdoes anything, seldom aims at dazzling. He is, taking him all in all, about the best specimen of a Christian gentleman we have seen ; and to complete his character, he gives away, so we are told, about half his income in charity.—A Student of St. David's College."

And thus Mr. Browne passed away from Lampeter, returning to parochial work and more directly spiritual duties with a sigh of relief. He seems to have been consulted about his successor, and to have advised the appointment of Mr. Williams, a brilliant Fellow of King's, a Welshman of the Welshmen, one of the most devout and prayerful of men, a liberal High Churchman of an independent type, endowed with one of the purest natures

and most penetrating and philosophical intellects ever seen at Cambridge. Here was a man who, it was hoped, combined all the qualities required ; his Cambrian enthusiasm, his learning, his fearless love of truth, his chivalrous defence of the spirit against the letter, seemed to mark him out as the future leader of Welsh Churchmanship. All his friends regarded his appointment to Lampeter as only the first step towards a Welsh bishopric. It was, as it fell out, just the other way. Had Mr. Williams stayed on at King's, taking life easy, and meddling little with the theological movements of the day, his goal, or rather the goal his admirers set up for him, would probably have been reached. Lampeter was fatal to the most gifted of its teachers : his fine-strung irritable temperament was ill suited to the drudgery of the daily work, and his fearless advocacy of the truth awakened all the suspicions of religious people. They admired and feared. Though he was a devoted High Churchman, full of the grandest conceptions of the spiritual life of the Church, the chief persons in high place in the Church regarded him as dangerous. His influence over the College diminished ; the Bishop of St. David's ceased to support him ; the Calvinistic Welsh were scared and scandalised. Many things he did just thirty years too soon, and his vigorous and thoughtful writings added fuel to the fire, by a keenness of thrust and bitterness of tone which alarmed and alienated many who had no quarrel with his conclusions. His paper on Bunsen and Biblical Research in "Essays and Reviews" naturally created great excitement, and prudent people felt that this wild champion of truth, who defied conventionalities just as he rode a half-broken high-spirited horse, galloping over the rough hills near Lampeter, and as he went shouting aloud devout prayers to God, was not the man to guide the fortunes of a weak

and struggling theological college. Of that College we may say, as he himself said of marriage :—

“ It is not every temper he could bear to live with ; and although not likely to be happy without a wife, he thought he might possibly be less happy with one.”

There can be no doubt that it was with a light heart and with a happy family around him that Mr. Browne bade farewell to Lampeter and his Welsh friends. Farewells to old comrades and friends are but as a piquant garniture to life, when one is eager for new work and changed scenes. And Kenwyn promised to be all he wished for : plentiful clerical work, congenial society in sufficient quantity, leisure to study and write, and above all, the knowledge that he would enjoy the confidence and countenance of his Bishop. He once told Mr. P. Dyke Acland that “ he had worked harder at Kenwyn than at any other time in his life.” It is not unlikely that this was also the period of the purest happiness he enjoyed in all his long and prosperous career.

The institution to the Vicarage of Kenwyn with the Chapelry of Kea took place on January 5th, 1850 ; and on the same day Mr. Browne was also installed in a Prebend in Exeter Cathedral Church.

Throughout this first year of his cure of souls in Cornwall, Mr. Browne found his hands very full of work. He not only took full share in all parochial work, visiting, teaching, preaching, and supervising local charities, but also fulfilled his promise to his pupils at Lampeter by converting his College lectures on the Thirty-Nine Articles into a volume for the benefit of all future students of theology.

Kenwyn and Kea, of which he now became Vicar, are two distinct parishes ; the one, Kenwyn, forming the

northern suburb of Truro, and the other, Kea, lying somewhat to the south of that place, on the estuary. There were two churches to be served, as well as many outlying knots of population to be looked after. Though Kenwyn was a large parish, the "Church town," or population around the church, consisted solely of one farmhouse, a few cottages, and a schoolroom. The whole parish was seven miles long and by no means easy to visit, as the hamlets were far apart. Among these scattered places Tregavethan was probably the most primitive; there the inhabitants knew so little of education that, when Mr. Browne showed them some pictures of animals and birds, they were completely taken by surprise, and many were their exclamations of wonder and pleasure, when Mr. Browne turned out a picture of a duck. One of the boys, delighted at being able to recognise a friend, called out, "Why, that be old Gammer's Mallard!" a phrase which would have won the heart at once of any Fellow of All Souls. Tregavethan, however, has long since lost its primitive ignorance; it now boasts a resident landlord, and has a chapel of its own with regular services. At Tregavethan lived that nonconformist minister whose confidence Mr. Browne won so completely that one day after the boys of the hamlet had been unusually lively, and had broken the windows of his little chapel, he trudged afoot all the way to Kenwyn, in order to consult the Vicar as to the best way of putting an end to these petty outrages. He amazed Mr. Browne not a little, after describing his troubles, by saying, "And now, sir, what do you think I should do with the young rascals? Do you think, sir, I could shoot 'em?" Mr. Browne, with a gravity which ill responded to his inner state of amusement, refrained from advice supposed to be suitable for a Celtic disturbance, and thought he had better "hesitate

to shoot." The good-will which this simple Methodist showed towards Mr. Browne existed between him and all the nonconformists. Though he made no secret of his opinions, he was so full of Christian simplicity and genuine affectionateness, that they were carried away by it, and lived with him on terms of great good-will and kindness throughout his sojourn in Cornwall. When one remembers the vehemence of nonconformity and its strength in that county, and the fact that Mr. Browne was a decided High Churchman, we may well regard it as a very high testimony to the lovable qualities of his character.

Kea, which lay on the other side of Truro, was treated almost as a sole cure. Perhaps the most notable thing about it was the very ancient and curious church plate, which dates back to the early part of the sixteenth century, and is said to have belonged to Renée d'Amboise, the elder daughter of Jacques d'Amboise, who was killed at the battle of Marignano in 1515. How it drifted into this out-of-the-way Cornish village is not known. When Mr. Browne came there, Kea was in the charge of the Rev. John Hardie, M.A., afterwards Archdeacon of Kaffraria, who continued for several years with the new vicar.

The Vicarage at Kenwyn, which has since been enlarged as the home of the Bishop of Truro, was at this time a good-sized comfortable house, stone-built. It stands hard by the parish church, with its handsome Perpendicular tower, in a charming garden, just above Truro, overlooking the town and the valley with the gleaming river below. The fault of it was that, as Cornishmen say, it was built "agin the country," that is, with the ground rising directly at the back of it, so that the Vicar's study, which looked that way, was dangerously damp. Here, however, Mr. Browne lived in great contentment for about seven years,

happy in the manifold opportunities he enjoyed of doing good, and in ministering to his fellows.

Archdeacon Hardie has with much kindness provided me with several interesting facts respecting this period. He writes :—

“At the time of Mr. Browne’s appointment as Vicar of Kenwyn-cum-Kea I was curate in sole charge of Kea, having been previously, for a short time, assistant-curate of the joint parishes. I liked my post, and wished to retain it, but not knowing the new Vicar I took the liberty of writing to him without any personal introduction, offering to remain. The returning post brought me a very friendly letter begging me to do so.

“The town of Truro at that time lay in the two parishes of Kenwyn and St. Mary’s, and (as not seldom happens) there had been small rivalries—not to say jealousies—between these parishes as to which should take the lead.

“This state of things, though it did not altogether prevent community of work, certainly did not help it forward. Now there was nothing *little* about Harold Browne. He simply would not see these rivalries, but always went straight to the point in question, giving his unbiassed judgment with that quiet weight which was all his own. And it was soon felt that a power had come among us, which made its way to supremacy all the more easily because it was united with so much gentleness and fairness. The tone thus given to our local councils was the more valuable because party feeling was at that time running strong on Church and educational questions. I ought not to omit to mention that while his gentleness of tone was prevailing in public, there was the influence of a model *Home* at work in the same direction.

“The family at the Vicarage consisted of rather uncommon elements. Besides the Vicar and his wife and children, there were two elderly sisters of the Vicar, ladies of a good deal of character of their own, yet living in most perfect harmony with the younger members, and sharing all their interests.

“A unity so rare could not fail to have an influence for good on all who witnessed it. And these were many, for Mrs. Browne belonged to an old Cornish family, several



KENWYN CHURCHYARD.

members of which were resident in Truro, and leaders of the society of the neighbourhood, especially her parents, whose public spirit and generous hospitality made them universally popular. Mrs. Browne, in coming to Kenwyn, brought her full share of this personal favour with her to the Vicarage, so that the singular happiness of her new home was soon known to all the neighbours. I need not dwell on the good effects of such an exemplary life as that of the inmates of the Vicarage on the many who had the privilege of witnessing it.

"Having described, however imperfectly, the Vicar's home, I must now say something of his work as a Parish Priest. As I had sole charge of Kea, my parish work lay parallel to his rather than in common with it. But we touched each other all along the frontier, and I had frequent opportunities of hearing of his diligent visiting and his large charity to those in want or sickness. Then again his purse was always open to any one in need on my side of the border, and although he was most delicate in his treatment of me personally (consulting me about Kea as if I were a brother Vicar), yet he always gave cheerfully and liberally towards the schools and charities of Kea, although that Parish brought very little income to him.

"Again, a marked trait in his character was his sympathy with sorrow. I should be ungrateful indeed if I did not make mention of an instance of this quality, exemplified as it was in my own case. A very near and dear relation had been taken from me by death, and the loss had completely unnerved me. The Vicar insisted on my giving up work and going away, he undertaking to fulfil the duties of the parish in my absence. On my return, I found that an epidemic disease had prevailed, and that for a whole fortnight he had been personally visiting my sick, as well as his own, rather than recall me (as most men would certainly have done) to my duty. This is the way to win hearts, and mine was twice his from that day forward. Unhappily the overwork affected him seriously, and made me doubly regret my own want of nerve. As soon as he was able to get about again he was at work, with his usual diligence, in his parish.

"I ought to say something of his preaching, for it was regarded by those who heard him habitually as not the least of his many strong points. But only on rare occasions had I this privilege, for when he preached at Kea I was

ordinarily obliged to fill his place, however feebly, at Kenwyn, or more frequently at a little chapel in Old Kea, where we were in turn responsible for a Sunday service. The few sermons which I heard of his were quite above the common, reflecting the 'sweet reasonableness' of the man's whole mind and character, distinct in their teaching, but not too abstract for the heads of his hearers. I was much struck by the ingenuity with which day by day he linked the text he had chosen to some large field of Christian duty, and applied it to the consciences of all his hearers, but especially to the younger ones, without ever repeating himself, in the course of the week or ten days of our tour.

"From the Bishop's teaching I am naturally led to say something of his ordinary conversation, for though that was as unlike preaching as possible, there was always much good to be gotten from it, in his invariably sensible and kindly judgment on things in general. Often too it was seasoned with the salt of quiet humour. I wish I could recall some instances of this, but my memory has only preserved the conclusion of a conversation in which I finally resigned my charge of Kea into his hands. He said there was an old proverb that 'no man could expect to have more than one thoroughly good horse in his life,' adding, with one of his sweet smiles, that he 'hoped that what was true of horseflesh might not prove true of curates also.' I was amused, and at the same time gratified, by what was implied, and, as I remember, bade him not despair, for it was a well-known fact that the performance of the steed depended very much on the hand of the master."

No more pleasing picture of the relation between vicar and curate can be imagined. It bears witness to the affectionate character, the innate goodness, the readiness to "spend and be spent," the absolute freedom from personal assertion, which marked the whole of the Bishop's career.

This was an important period in Mr. Browne's life. The years at Kenwyn ripened him into a thorough parish priest. In parochial activity and organisation, in spiritual work with his flock, in literary undertakings, and in a rapid advance in public estimation as one of the most rising of

the younger Churchmen, Mr. Browne made admirable use of these years, from 1850 to 1856; and this though at the time his health was very much impaired, and he was long confined to his house, and even to his bed. The period and the place both combined to bring Mr. Browne into prominence; it was now nine years since the celebrated "Tract 90" had first seen the light, and things had moved onward somewhat rapidly. In 1845 the ablest contributor to the Tracts had been received into the Church of Rome, and men who had sympathised with him in his theological views, and in the endeavour to infuse more of the spirit of mediæval usage and dignity into the somewhat chilly frame of Anglicanism, were obliged to reconsider their position. A few passed boldly over to Rome; the rest strengthened themselves in the middle position which their Church seemed naturally fitted to maintain; the body politic rocked and swayed awhile, and then settled down into a steady course, which it has, on the whole, pursued without serious change from that time forward. Among the older High Churchmen no one was more definite in his standpoint than the Bishop of Exeter; among the younger clergy hardly anyone understood his ground so well, or explained the position so clearly, as did Mr. Browne. The years at Lampeter had given him time to secure himself in his firm and almost enthusiastic belief in the sufficiency of the English Church, and in the soundness of her credentials. No more loyal Churchman ever existed.

It may be said of theologians, as S. T. Coleridge says in the "Aids to Reflection" of mankind in general, that they are all by nature either Aristotelians or Platonists. And the High Church movement has distinctly passed through both these phases of thought. The earlier Anglicans, mostly from Oxford, had their minds full of

Aristotle, and treated the "Ethics" with a respect almost equal to that which was felt for the Bible. While here and there one, like William Sewell, was a poetic Platonist, who saw the Christian Church adumbrated in the "*De Republica*," the bulk of Oxford thinkers had been nursed on Aristotle's knees, and were deeply imbued with the leading doctrine of the Aristotelian morality, the "doctrine of the mean" betwixt extremes. The whole tendency of Oxford teaching gravitated, as if by a law of nature, towards the middle point, the point of balance between excess and defect. And this was true in many fields. Aristotle, in applying it specially to morals, had not thereby limited the application; in politics, in social life, in theology, the happy man was the man who avoided extremes, and kept the middle course. The bulk of the High Church clergy of that day fell in with this view, and were as anxious to avoid the too high as the too low position. No one defended this middle ground more clearly, or with more learning and temper, than Mr. Browne. No one ever was, on the other hand, a more remarkable example of the modern saying that "but for the extremes, the mean would never rise." For his middle point was in every sense a higher one than that of his predecessors, and the rise was clearly caused by the aspirations of those who held the more extreme views. The Low Church side helped less than the other; yet their insistence on individual responsibility, and the real importance of a living faith and a spiritual view of religion, kept the middle party from risks of formalism and of a too systematised view of Church life and polity. On the other side, the doctrines relating to the community of the Church, by which the individual partly loses his prominence, and the body politic answers for him, formed an essential part of that high middle course which the

best Churchmen had learnt to tread. To Mr. Browne the theory of a strongly organised national Church, whether established or not, was the palladium of religion. While he always contended stoutly against Roman innovations, and the claims set forth by the chief polemic writers of the Roman obedience, he endeavoured with all his force to strengthen the position of Anglicanism, as a thoroughly organised and independent branch of the Church Catholic. The keystone of his system was Episcopacy. An Episcopate transmitted by due succession from the earliest times, a clergy called of God and admitted by their Bishops in due form into the ministry of the Church ; a strong coherent system of Church government and administration, with ramifications first over all England, and then by Episcopal transmission across the vast breadth of the English dominions and wherever the English-speaking race has made a home,—this, he held, was the right way in which to build up a really National Church. There is something congenial to the English temperament in this practical application of the Aristotelian philosophy ; to most of us the high-soaring views of Plato and his school seem to be dreams, wanting in solidity and out of touch with the everyday average needs and struggles of mankind. We accept the political philosophy of the “Politics,” while we think of the “Republic” of Plato as Utopian. And the earlier High Church movement, unaffected by chance votaries of Plato, made an Anglicanism of moderate pretensions its aim. Since then the movement has developed itself on other lines ; and the most prominent minds have in fact abandoned Aristotle for Plato. Later utterances as to the spiritual life, the shrinking from hard dogmatism and preference for a mystic theology, the belief that in some sense Plato’s “Idea” lies at the root of the relations, personal or sacramental, between God as declared

to us in the Person of Jesus Christ, and man in his regenerate life,—these things mark the later development of High Church theology, and have created a new and a more liberal school of Churchmanship. With this later state of religious opinion Bishop Harold Browne was never fully in sympathy ; it seemed to him to bring men perilously near to the theology and polity of the Roman Church, and to be ill-defined, leading no man could say to what end. Consequently, while he remained firmly fixed in his strong position, and while his work on the Thirty-Nine Articles was a temperate expression of the Anglican view of Christian doctrine and organisation, the modern High Church party has shaken itself free from the conservative position there taken up, and has chafed at the moderation then displayed, calling it, in the matter of the Sacraments, a “mere following of Hooker.” Strong partisans hate to be checked by ancient formulas ; the modern High school, of which the note is spirituality, has perhaps more sympathy with the earnest Nonconformist, who insists on the need for conversion and a spiritual life, than with the theology which rests on ordinances, and shuns irregular outbursts, and stands aloof from the reign of enthusiastic emotion. And so it came about that in the end the steadfast Bishop, who at first had been accused of extreme High Church leanings, came often to be the object of the lofty pity, and perhaps of the ignorant scorn, of the “advanced” clergy, who felt his learning, his moderation, and his definite position a hindrance to the success of their eager “forward movement.”

Three things specially marked the years of Mr. Browne’s life at Kenwyn : the zeal and activity of his parochial work ; his share in the agitation for the revival of Convocation ; and, by no means least, the publication of his work on the Thirty-Nine Articles.

The population of Kenwyn was mainly scattered over a large area, and required a pastor who could be active in moving from point to point, and fearless in facing every kind of weather. To meet the difficulties—which pressed hardly on a man of his delicate constitution—Mr. Browne bought a horse, and though, by reason of his stature, he was not a good figure for riding, made great use of it for visiting all parts of the parish. Against bad weather he got himself a panoply which, as he used to say, left only his face to be drowned when the Cornish sea-mists came over thick and wet, and he was obliged to ride forth to visit the sick. An ample waterproof cloak, and “antigropelos” encasing his long legs, enabled him to defy the dirt and damp. He must have been a Quixotic figure on his steed plodding through the miry lanes, intent on some charitable or spiritual errand.

His parish work was very carefully organised. Each curate had his division as a kind of sole charge, and there were district visitors for smaller areas. He drew up for them a paper of enquiries, so that the visitors might furnish him with facts as to the condition of his people. One of these papers has been preserved. The lady who filled it up had to visit twenty-one houses, with a population of about a hundred souls. The form asked for the names of inhabitants, their occupation, number in each house, ages, the religious body to which they belonged; it enquired whether the people could read, whether they had a Bible, whether the children had been baptised, whether they were at school, and where, and lastly, whether the grown-up members of the household were communicants. Most of these questions were answered simply; there is only one entry of an unusual kind: “There is a Brianite class and prayer-meeting held in this house; daughter most painfully ignorant.”

Mr. Browne was bound to spend nearly two-thirds of the year as Professor at Cambridge, and the effect was seen in troubles with his curates. The times were trying for warm-hearted enthusiastic young clergymen; the spiritual fervour of the Aitkenite movement, the necessity of dealing with the strong Wesleyanism of the Cornishmen, and other difficulties, combined to create a restlessness in some of his young helpers, which ended in the secession of one of them to the Roman Church. What Professor Browne could do he did with the utmost kindness; but he was much away, and often far from strong in health, so that much of his valuable influence evaporated in the post-office. His letters of this period show us how faithfully and kindly he treated his fellow-workers, and how completely he was the father as well as the master of these young men. One of the curates, the Rev. Walter James, a man of no small gifts and an excellent preacher, has left us a very pleasing picture of the Professor's character and surroundings at this time. He tells us that "Aitkenism," which was "popularly supposed to be a wedding of a scion of the Wesleyan doctrine of sensible conversion upon the stock of Tractarian theology," abounded in the neighbourhood of Kenwyn; that the incumbent of Baldhu, a district taken out of Kenwyn and Kea, had warmly taken up the Aitkenite views; and that one of the curates was very deeply impressed by them. In the unsettlement which followed, Mr. James says:—

"I found unspeakable help in the teaching and encouragement of my dear Vicar. I felt also—and herein lies much to justify Aitken's line—that as a rule too many of us had not quite grasped the nature of true absolution and release from the stains of past sin, and the power of evil in the heart of the regenerate." "During these years," he adds in another place, "the Vicar stood out over the

troubled sea as a beacon-light,—for his mind was many-sided.”

“‘Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri’ seemed to be his principle, because he could see so much good in all presentments of revealed truth. It was a difficult matter often to extract from him what he really thought. Hence we learnt gradually to appraise the value of our own crude thoughts before submitting them to his judgment; and so hereby his habitual caution taught us to avoid rash statements, to challenge much that was conventionally current in the Church as correct doctrine, and so to separate the wheat from the chaff, and learn more and more to ‘hold the Head.’

“Our Vicar treated us like sons,—gave us our heads pretty much, encouraged us in pastoral visitation, and in the Sunday services would insist on taking a greater share than his then delicate health seemed to justify. When we used to say to him, ‘You are doing all the work and leaving us but little,’ he would reply, ‘You will be all the more able to work when you have a parish of your own.’”

In connexion with this letter, we may quote one from Professor Browne to Mr. James, written in June 1853, at a time when the writer had been obliged by overwork and ill-health to give up all work for a time, and, instead of hastening down from Cambridge to Kenwyn, was taking a much-needed holiday near Falmouth :—

“FLUSHING, *June 14th*, 1853.

“MY DEAR MR. JAMES,—I am sorry to leave you so soon all alone. If you knew how near I feel to the grave or to utter helplessness, when reduced to the depressed state in which I have been lately, you would appreciate the absolute necessity for change, if I would either consult the interests of my own family, to whom my life is of consequence, or my own prospects of usefulness in the post where the Chief Captain has placed me.”

Then, after giving his friend some minute instructions respecting parish-work, instructions which show that, in spite of his manifold and engrossing duties elsewhere,

Kenwyn was always very near his heart, and that he well knew his scattered flock, he ends the letter with a piece of advice and warning, couched in such charming language as a wise elder brother might use towards a clever and ambitious younger boy.

"Will you pardon me," he writes, "if I speak my mind plainly to you, and as becomes an elder working in the same sacred and responsible calling? You appear to me likely to make a remarkably able 'Minister of the New Testament.' You will therefore in all probability have to encounter the peculiar and most dangerous temptation of popularity. I do not know whether or not you are much open to the assaults of such a temptation; but probably there is no one altogether proof against it, without a large measure of strength from above. 'Forewarned, forearmed.' Our connection, and its very sacred character, gives me boldness to hint this to you, and I much mistake your disposition if you do not accept it as it is intended."

Again, in 1854, after Mr. James had left Kenwyn, he reverts to the same topic:—

"My feeling has long been that your usefulness would be much greater in the pulpit if you gave a little more time to the composition of your sermons. They appear to me to want substance; which you make up for by energy in delivery. Your remarkably fine voice and that very energetic delivery will surely make you very popular among the poor. But that very popularity may prevent you from seeing defects. I am inclined to think that really useful preaching is about the most uncommon qualification in a clergyman—popular preaching being one of the most common.

"I should advise you to trust more to the strength of your matter than to the force of your manner.

"I should recommend you to take a passage of Scripture and expound it, and then deduce from it lessons of faith and practice. This is generally likely to give more thread to your discourse and more instruction to your hearers than the custom of taking a text as merely the heading of an address to your people.

“ I should also suggest that the denunciations of the Law are very needful, but that they should not supersede the invitations of the Gospel. The peculiar office of Christ’s ministers is to preach good tidings. We have committed to us the ministry of reconciliation ; and its message is that ‘ God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, and not imputing their trespasses unto them.’ I am well aware that the poor are so dull and insensible that they often not only bear, but benefit by, strong denunciations which, to the educated, are not only useless but disagreeable. And I feel more fully that the educated and religious are not judges of what is necessary to awaken the uneducated and ungodly. Yet my own impression, in listening to some of your sermons, has been that they would have been more impressive, even to the poor, if they had been less severe. The most reckless and abandoned do not form part of any congregation. The result is that denunciations of great vice seldom reach the consciences of members of our congregations. Such denunciations give great pleasure to the poor, for two reasons ; one, because they like anything which rouses them up and excites their attention ; the other, because they are very fond of hearing their neighbours’ sins condemned. Home-thrusts tell much more on the conscience than denunciations,—such at least is my impression.

“ In all I am saying, I fear that I may be liable to cramp your style. But still I think I should not act kindly to you if I did not give you the best advice I can before it is too late for you to change your tack. If you follow my views, I think it not impossible that you may not be quite so popular with the poor—though I am not sure even of that—but I think you will attract the attention of the educated more, and I hope you will find that your preaching is more effectual to all.

“ If I did not highly value you, and believe that you have it in you to become a very able and successful servant of our great Master, I should care much less to point out to you what seem to me your principal defects. I believe it is partly because we have, generally speaking, no one to give us any hints at our first starting in life that most of us make such very indifferent preachers and parish priests. Livius has often taken me to task for not sufficiently expressing my opinions on such subjects to him ; and now, perhaps, you will complain that I have erred on the other

side. I walked one day from church with you, meaning to open the question in conversation ; but something you said about not having time then for sermons made me think it better to defer it till the ordination was over. If I have now expressed myself in any manner that seems to you uncalled for, pray attribute it to inadvertence, not intention. Very imperfectly, I know, I have expressed myself."

Though the aim of this kind letter apparently was to bring down his curate's ambitious eloquence to a more practical level, to a safe and useful mediocrity instead of a heroic effort, Mr. James showed no unwillingness to accept the advice ; and indeed, as the following quotation will show, he preferred that more deliberate and even flow of reasoned appeal and learned instruction, seasoned with humility, with which his Vicar's utterances abounded. He says :—

"It was a treat to listen to his sermons, and to mark the silence and close attention displayed by the congregation, as each carefully-weighed sentence fell from his lips. His delivery was marked by deep solemnity of intonation, so much so that the vocal chords of his voice seemed to vibrate, and almost to tremble, from the intensity of his convictions. This, I think, made his sermons, whether simple or of a deeper theological cast, take such hold of the feelings as well as the reasoning powers of those who listened. The thoughtful among the Wesleyans were specially attracted by his preaching. It was often a tremendous strain on him. He once declared to me that he sometimes felt he should die in the act of preaching."

And as a final touch, shewing what sweet influences surrounded the young earnest curate of Kenwyn, let us add the charming words in which he refers to the effect on him of the domestic life, glimpses of which he saw from time to time within the walls of Kenwyn Vicarage :—

"Of her who was the sunshine of the home—who showed her husband's curates all the kindness and indulgence of

a mother—I would fain say more than I dare. They were a pair such as one seldom met; light-holders in their neighbourhood in all circumstances, and in much heavy trial giving out warmth and enlightenment to those who were privileged to call them friends. It is forty years ago since I heard the fine silvery peal of eight call from Kenwyn steeple the living to the House of Prayer. I seem to hear them now, as I ‘consider the days of old and the years that are past,’ and the loved ones gone on before awaiting us.”

Another record of this same period has still to be given. Among the curates of this Kenwyn period was a clever earnest-minded young man, whose disposition made him very susceptible to the influences around him, and who did not hesitate to push his convictions to their fullest interpretation. At first he was deeply impressed by Mr. Aitken’s teaching and example. Of this state of his mind his warm-hearted colleague, the Rev. Reginald Barnes, gives us one little glimpse in a letter dated October 18th, 1855, in which he says that—

“X came in and brought with him Mr. Knott, the late Oxford Proctor and incumbent of St. Saviour’s, Leeds, who had been staying with him at Aitken’s. They talked for two hours; but it seemed to me in great measure with zeal without knowledge.”

Professor Browne appears, hereupon, to have written a kind and cooling letter to his curate, in fear lest his enthusiasm might carry him he knew not whither; for a few days after the above had been sent to him, he writes, apparently in reply to Mr. Barnes, on the 8th of November :—

“I have received a letter of TWENTY pages from X to-day, which is not so pleasant to me as his former letters. He seems to me to have more of Haslam’s mode of writing than he had before. I am very grieved to have any

misunderstanding with him, but he left me no alternative but either to endure all his proceedings or else to refuse my consent to them."

And this want of sympathy continued for more than a year, during which period the curate, feeling that the High Church Methodism of his friends Mr. Knott and Mr. Aitken did not meet all his aspirations, drew slowly and decidedly away, until by the end of 1856 he had left Kenwyn, and wrote to Professor Browne announcing his intention of being received into the Church of Rome.

Mr. Browne's reply is so grave and kindly that it must be given in full :—

"THE CLOSE, EXETER.

"*January 24th, 1857.*

"MY DEAR X,—I have just received from —— a letter which has caused me very great pain, though perhaps not very great surprise. I was already aware that the almost inevitable tendency of the school into which you had recently been thrown was towards Rome, and indeed I had warned you of it. There has been, alas! a great estrangement between us lately. But I am sure you will yet allow me to write to you. Not that I feel I am likely to move you by arguments, for I know that feeling, and not reason, always guides people to the step which you contemplate. But I feel that, whilst you were my curate, something, probably my own deficiencies in zeal and ability as God's minister, led you to search for other counsel and guidance than mine. And though I cannot reproach myself for either harshness in differing from you, or weakness in yielding to your opinions, I can yet see abundant reason in my own heart why I should not have had all the influence with you which from our relative positions I ought to have had. Hence I am willing, if possible, to make one more effort to stop your course to what I think a most grievous fall; ineffectual as all my former reasonings have ever been.

"I quite know, as I said before, and as you say in your letter to ——, that argument is not the thing. I will only beg you then to consider one or two points. First of all

in the four or five years that I have known you you have undergone many changes of opinion. By early education you were what is called Evangelical; by Oxford influences you had become very High Church, and, as I should say, very *un*-Evangelical. As far as I could influence you, I wished to reawaken some of your former Evangelical feelings, and yet to keep you attached to the Church. Messrs. Aitkin and Haslam completely overrode any influence I might have tried to use (as imperceptibly as I could), and made you a Methodist. From this Church Methodism (or whatever we may call it), you have gradually come round to Romanism. Though I do not deny that in this circle you may all along have been revolving round an unseen centre of attraction, yet you must allow that the revolution involved considerable changes of sentiment. In each you seemed very confident of your ground; and though you allowed me to reason with you, you never yielded one inch to my reasonings. Now, you have not long come to your present position. Think, whether it is not possible that you may one day find it as untenable as those you have held before. But once take the step, and it is almost irrevocable. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*. There is a spell in Romanism that seems to hold its converts bound by it. You may yet find, too late, that you have broken all the dearest ties of life only for the sake of a new phase of belief—not for the *Truth* itself.

“You are dissatisfied with the system of the Church of England, and so are some of the earnest friends with whom you have lately taken your stand, and conversed in thought and prayer. Your feeling is, that such is the natural course of earnest and devout minds. Now, let me just tell you some of my own experiences of the opposite workings.

“I know some devout Roman Catholics, the children of a pious mother, of intellects *far superior* to any of those with whom, as far as I know, you have been mostly thrown. I know that through a course of more than twenty years, apart from Protestant influence, only among English and Irish Roman Catholics, in much prayer and anxiety and study, they have gradually, calmly, painfully, come to the conclusion that they must either abandon their reason entirely to the government of others, or conclude that their Church is idolatrous. They find the Saviour obscured by the Virgin Mother, and the recent declaration, in favour of

the Immaculate Conception, has finally determined them to leave the communion of Rome and embrace that of England. They have done so quietly, unostentatiously, sorrowfully, but decidedly. And they look with amazement at the English churchmen who have left the English Church for that of Rome. They say that, whilst most educated and serious Roman Catholics in this country are deploring the extravagance to which the hierarchy are going, Protestants are rushing over to them and outdoing even the most extravagant of the Romish divines.

"1. Let me say another thing. When you took to the Church Methodist system, though I deplored its fanaticism and your adoption of it, I still rejoiced that you appeared to have anew embraced the blessed truths of the Incarnation and Atonement, of human helplessness to attain salvation, and of the need of implicit reliance on Christ only for salvation. Now, read any of the writings of any of the Reformers, in England, Germany, Switzerland, where you will—attach as little credit as you like to them, but their testimony is uniform, that the teaching of the Roman Church in their day was all but *Christless*. They could not, dared not, have so testified if that teaching had really been *full of Christ*. Here is one fruit of the Tree whose leaves, you have learned to believe, are for the healing of the nations. I do not say that the new doctrines of the Reformation did not so far interpenetrate even Rome as to revive some truth on this ground-doctrine of the faith. But this is due to the Reformation, not to Rome.

"2. I will mention another fruit. My firm and deep conviction is that, ever excepting the sin of Judas Iscariot, the deadliest and most damning sin ever committed by man was committed for centuries by the Church of Rome, was part of its system, sprang from it, was generated from its very life-blood. I mean the *Inquisition*. I know the Reformation was not wholly without persecution, but it owed that to its imperfect emerging from Rome. It soon disowned it.

"3. Another fruit of the same system has been the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, obscuring, perhaps overthrowing, the doctrine of the Incarnation itself—at all events, placing Mary between us and Jesus, who is the one Mediator between God and man.

"4. One more fruit. Look at Spain and Italy, the two great seats of Romanism, where it has flourished most,

and had its fullest sway. Are there any two Christian nations so sunk in morals and intelligence and religion? I believe you might go through the map of Europe and write Protestant against the names of every flourishing, moral, and intellectual people; and Romanist against all those who have fallen most, either religiously or intellectually. There may be one or two exceptions, not more. 'Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?'

"Are not all these facts (I do not call them arguments) some reason for pausing before embracing the views and entering the communion of a Church from which all this has grown out? God knows I have no wish to hurt your feelings, or offend you. If I speak in strong terms, believe me, it is neither from want of kind feeling for yourself nor from fondness of speaking harshly of Christians, Churches, or Sects from which I differ. I am rather wont to err in the other extreme. Conscious of my own sins and infirmities, and of the imperfection of every institution not wholly divine, I prefer to speak gently of the errors of others and of the faults of other communions. Perhaps I have erred in this way in my former intercourse with you. Hoping to influence you by gentle arguments, or without arguments, I have sometimes let you think I did but slightly disapprove what I deeply deplored. Now probably it is too late. We are no longer connected as we once were. You have long ceased to regard my words or opinions. I can only pray for you—most imperfect, sinful prayer, I well know, but offered through the ONE Mediator; and for all the sins of the worshipper, I believe that they can reach from earth to heaven through that one Mediator, who is the Ladder on which angels ascend and descend from man to God, and from God to men.

"Pray forgive me if I have said anything to pain you. Pray, do not hastily take the irrevocable step. What is involved in it I do not know—for this world and for the next.

"Be assured that I am ever, with much regard, but in deep sorrow,

"Yours most truly,
"HAROLD BROWNE."

This grave and affectionate effort to stay his young friend from taking the irrevocable step was unsuccessful.

The young man passed over, and has since become somewhat well known as a controversialist, and upholder of those Ultramontane doctrines which took form mainly under the Pontificate of Pius IX., in 1854, and at the so-styled Œcumenical Council of 1869.

In all matters of parish work and organisation as well as in this fatherly treatment of his curates, Professor Browne was an admirable chief. In those days, guilds, clubs, associations were almost unknown; but such machinery as there was he used prudently and conscientiously. He organised district-visiting and education with great care, while his pen engrossed his spare hours, and made serious calls on his scanty leisure hours. As we should have expected, Mr. Browne's relations with the clergy of his parish were always admirable. One of those who were under him at Kenwyn, the Rev. F. C. Jackson, Rector of Stanmore, speaks warmly of this characteristic of his Vicar's ministry.

"We worked as friends, he expressing himself always as one who was in all respects my equal. I had had but two years' experience in parish work when Harold Browne asked me to come and join him. I remember quite well his laying stress on this helping him, in contradiction to being his curate.

"His solicitude for the welfare of his parish was always marked by the interest he took in all that I had to tell him of outlying districts, and he it was who under these circumstances laid the foundations of the School and Mission Room at Tregavethan. No man with whom I have been in contact has the influence of Harold Browne over young men. There was a tacit yet unmistakable sympathy which appealed at once to a young man's confidence; and the benefit conferred upon many a man during those few years at Kenwyn lasts even now with those of us who remain. . . . Many of those who in their young days start aside from religious constraint, not necessarily into infidelity, were restrained by this influence. Few men among the clergy of those days were better received

and venerated among Nonconformists than Mr. Browne—he never committed himself, as others have unfortunately done, to the error of pitying patronage.”

There was another marked element of his activity, an element which may be said always to characterise a well-worked parochial system, and to denote an earnest and spiritual-minded clergyman. This was the development at Kenwyn of an interest in Foreign Mission work. In a Pastoral Letter issued in 1880 from Farnham Castle the Bishop refers to this.

“I have long believed,” he writes, “that interest in Missionary work cannot be kept up by a single annual sermon in church, and by a few meetings in our towns, with deputations sent by parent societies. All sermons are not impressive, nor their influence lasting; all deputations are not eloquent; very few in the towns themselves, and still fewer in the villages round about, will frequent the meetings. I am sure that by far the best way of keeping up interest and increasing funds is by working effectually parish associations, and by trying to bring home to every family, and as far as possible to every member of every family, a knowledge of and a feeling for the work which the Church is doing abroad. I have often expressed my opinion that every parish ought to have its own Missionary organisation, regularly and systematically worked. In 1842 I became Incumbent of a large town parish (St. Sidwell's, Exeter). My predecessor had had an annual sermon and an annual meeting in the schoolroom for S.P.G. and C.M.S., and some of his district visitors collected for it; but the funds gathered were very small. I tried to improve upon this. We had a meeting in the schoolroom, where I announced my intention to divide the parish into districts, each of which was to be canvassed for Missions by district collectors, who would leave cards in every house, circulate Missionary publications, and call once a week or once a month, as the inhabitants might prefer, for weekly or monthly contributions, the sum collected to be entered on the respective cards. In addition to this Missionary boxes were deposited in any houses or shops, where they would be accepted and useful. We had still

our annual sermon, and once a quarter instead of once a year we had a meeting in the schoolroom, the speakers being the clergy of the parish and any neighbouring clergyman or layman who would come in and help us. We gave simple addresses, sometimes lectures illustrated by pictures and maps. The result of the whole movement was to quadruple the funds in the very first year.

"Ten or eleven years after, I tried the same scheme in a large country parish in Cornwall (Kenwyn), with still more marked success. It was surprising to see how the people flocked from the country round, some from great distances, to the quarterly meetings. The result was not only to swell the funds of the Societies, but to interest a great number of the farmers and of the poor in Church Missions, and so in Church work generally. Whilst there had been only annual sermons in the church, and annual meetings in the neighbouring town, the people (who in Cornwall are mostly Wesleyans) did not even know that the Church had any missions to the heathen. I can confidently say that no work in church, school, or cottage had so favourable an influence in gathering my people round me, and conciliating dissenters to the Church, as this exhibiting to them continually the Church as a great missionary body, and this interesting of them personally in mission work. They learnt for the first time to believe that the Church was working in earnest for the salvation of souls."

Thus, in every way Church life at Kenwyn was raised, and a higher tone infused into it, by Mr. Browne's remarkable personality and simple earnestness. It used to be thought that the Churchman who used his pen could not also be a good parish priest; the learned should have leisure, the practical parishes: he, however, combined both with great success, and was as good and active in the one as with the other. And the times called forth his energies in every way. The promised treatise on the Articles, the agitation of these years on the subject of Baptism, and the presence around him not only of a very strong nonconformist feeling, but of a school of thought within the

Church coloured by Methodist views as to conversion,—all these things greatly stimulated Mr. Browne's activity of mind as preacher and author.

A short time before he moved to Kenwyn in 1849, the Diocese of Exeter, and all England with it, had been thrown into much excitement on the subject of Baptism, and the limits within which varieties of opinion on the subject were to be allowed. Mr. Gorham, Incumbent of St. Just in Penwith, had been presented by the Lord Chancellor, in June 1847, to the living of Brampford Speke, also in the diocese of Exeter, and the Bishop, hearing that Mr. Gorham had warmly defended "Low" views as to the spiritual character of Infant Baptism, insisted on examining him sharply on the subject of Regeneration before granting him institution to his new benefice. He accordingly summoned Mr. Gorham, inquired into his opinions, declared them unsound, and refused to institute him. This was in March, 1848. As it was a Lord Chancellor's living, and as Mr. Gorham had fighting qualities, the matter was not allowed to rest. Mr. Gorham had resented this examination by his Bishop, in whose diocese he had been working for years; and now, finding himself debarred from preferment, at once began to set the Courts in motion. He first applied to the Court of Arches for a Monition to compel the Bishop to grant him institution. The case was heard in that Court early in 1848, and Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, sitting as Judge, gave judgment in the matter on August 3rd, 1849, upholding the Bishop. Thereupon, in the following December, Mr. Gorham appealed to Her Majesty in Council; and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council sat to hear the appeal. In this court no Bishop, even though he were a member of the Privy Council, could sit, though he might be summoned to advise. The Archbishops of Canterbury

and York and the Bishop of London were assessors in this case. The Judicial Committee in the March following reversed Sir H. Jenner Fust's judgment, and ordered the Bishop of Exeter to grant Mr. Gorham institution. The Bishop obeyed, and Mr. Gorham became Vicar of Brampford Speke. The result was hailed with great excitement and very discordant cries: the Bishop's friends and the High Church clergy generally protested against the judgment of a bishop on a question of dogmatic theology being set aside by a lay court, and did all in their power to emphasise the importance of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. On the other hand, the *Record* and other Evangelical organs were jubilant at the triumph of what they regarded as the anti-sacerdotal cause. Mr. Browne, in the earlier stages of the controversy, was at Lampeter, and does not seem to have taken an active part in it; later on, at Kenwyn, he drew up, in grave and temperate language, the "Protest of the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Cornwall," addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The conclusion of this document is altogether in Mr. Browne's manner (the rough draft of it is in his handwriting). He strongly maintains the doctrine of "One Baptism for the remission of sins," declaring that "the Church holds and has ever held that every person, infant as well as adult, rightly receiving the Sacrament of Baptism, is, by virtue of that Sacrament and the grace of God received therein, grafted into the Body of Christ's Church, made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven." And he bases the protest on the recorded utterances and usage of the early centuries of the Christian Church.

Professor Rowland Williams, who had no doctrinal liking for Mr. Gorham and his views, records his impressions of the Bishop of St. David's Charge on the subject.

“On the Gorham question,” he writes, “the Bishop [Thirlwall] evidently did not adopt Mr. G.’s opinions, but seemed to think they were merely Calvinistic (which have been held constantly), and that the holder had been rather persecuted, as well as that he and his examiner had misunderstood each other. The *terms*, he thinks, ought to have been defined or explained.”

The three parties in the Church dealt with the question each in its own way : the High denounced the Gorham views as heretical ; the Low Church adopted and defended them ; the Broad held that, though Mr. Gorham’s views were probably incorrect, still they were, on general grounds of charity and inclusiveness, tenable within the Church of England, and that Bishop Philpott’s course had been somewhat hard and overbearing. The controversy has left little trace behind it, the tendency of thought since that time not being favourable to dogmatic discussions, and the intellectual pleasure in such questions not strong enough to tempt men to plunge into such thorny thickets of theological strife. On the whole, the views expressed by the Bishop of St. David’s may be said to have prevailed. Mr. Browne had the whole question under review, when he, at this very time, was revising his Lecture on the XXVIIth Article. It bears little trace of the excitement through which the Church had passed. It may be noticed that it re-echoes Bishop Thirlwall’s complaint that much of the quarrel was due to a lack of proper definition of the terms used by both sides. And the Article itself upholds the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration in terms so carefully chosen, so studiously moderate, that it was felt that here the controversy might well be closed. Without attempting to reconcile the privileges and powers of the Church as a body politic with the rights and duties of the individual Christian, the Article recognises both sides, and endeavours to explain how they may coexist and work harmoniously for the true

end, which is the implanting of spiritual life in the human soul, to fit men to be active members of the mystical body of Christ.

The subject was still only too hot when Mr. Browne settled at Kenwyn. In June 1851 the Bishop of Exeter held a synod, in order to rally his diocese round him in support of the doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism. This body, composed of the Cathedral Chapter, the chief officials of the diocese, and two representatives from each Rural Deanery (two deaneries only having declined to elect their representatives), met on June 25th, 1851, and agreed to a declaration in support of the Bishop's contention. And from that moment the excitement calmed down, leaving the preferments in the English Church open to persons of very different views, yet giving great prominence to the Anglican interpretation of the article "One Baptism for the Remission of Sins."

This "Synod" is also historically a matter of great interest, as being the earliest revival of synodical action within the English Church in modern times. The stress of the controversy had given the diocese a voice; attention had been called to the very important subject of the representation of Church opinion in Conferences, Congresses, Synods, and Convocation; and this Exeter "Synod" of 1851 gave the tendency a definite form and shape.

Of this "Synod" Mr. Browne was a member; and it is probable that his attention was now first called to the advantage of such meetings of authorised representatives of the Church. At any rate, though our materials are not so full as to enable us to speak with confidence, it is probable that his active intervention in these matters dates from this moment.

This interest in Church matters was due to a variety of causes,—due to the revival of religious feeling in the

country, due also to the dislike felt to the solution of theological, even of doctrinal, questions by lay tribunals; above all, due to the strengthened belief in the organic life of the Church as such, which coincided with the revival of Anglican doctrine and opinion in the middle of this present century. It was felt very widely that the Church as such ought to have a voice in her own affairs, and that she was not a mere paid servant of the State. In the following year, 1852, efforts were made to give the meetings of Convocation of the Southern Province a more real character. Though Convocation had been formally summoned ever since the reign of George I., when its deliberations were interrupted and forbidden, the meetings had, for one hundred and thirty-five years, been the merest matter of form. Now, however, the set of opinion was so strong that it proved irresistible; and, after the English fashion, without any constitutional change, Convocation began once more to be clothed with some form of life. Mr. Browne took an active part in influencing opinion. He printed and circulated widely a letter in pamphlet form, addressed to Mr. Spencer Walpole, at that time Home Secretary in Lord Derby's short Administration of the summer of 1852. The Home Secretary replied on September 11th, 1852, with a polite douche of cold water, though he plucks up courage to add that he agrees with the author in deploring "the religious discord which prevails in the Church and threatens to extinguish true religion among us. Everything I can do will have for its object the restoration, if possible, of religious peace." Mr. Gladstone, to whom, as the statesman in Opposition most likely to be friendly, Mr. Browne had also transmitted a copy, sends a more sympathetic reply, though he, too, carefully avoids committing himself to any direct declaration on the subject. He laments the evil results

of the suspension of Convocation ; the damage to the souls of men ; the great difficulties which beset any attempt to revive such an ecclesiastical assembly.

The Cornish clergy at once turned to Mr. Browne as the right man to represent them and to give weight to their wishes. Mr. Coope, as representing the county, wrote to him asking him whether he would be willing to be put in nomination ; and if so, whether he would write him something about his views on the questions of the time.

In reply the Vicar of Kenwyn wrote two letters, which show with what quiet resolution he faced the difficulties of the day, and the risks which surrounded the new experiment of Convocation restored to life. The regretful reference to the old days when Churchmen only could sit in Parliament may provoke a smile in these times.

“ EXETER, *June 19th*, 1852

“ REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Your letter has only just reached me here. I fully recognise your right to ask me questions, and I will endeavour to answer them freely and candidly. If my brethren choose me as one of their representatives in Convocation (an honour which I assure you I have made no move towards obtaining, and which I view as an anxious responsibility), it is my fullest intention, by God’s blessing, to attend regularly at the meetings of that body.

“ I cannot deny that I look with anxiety to a revival of synodal action. Yet after much careful thought I am of opinion (especially now the legislature is no longer composed of at least nominal Churchmen, with the Queen and Bishops at their head) it is quite necessary that the Church should be permitted to speak in a free Synod. What subjects the Synod should at present discuss, I hardly know. I wish for no change in our doctrines, which are in my belief Catholic, Apostolic, Evangelical. But the intermission of synodal action for a hundred and fifty-six years has rendered the machinery of the Church wooden, and it needs adapting to the wants of the day. Such

adaptation we cannot accept from Parliament alone. I am therefore prepared to advocate and support 'measures calculated to restore an early and effective action to the lawful representation of the Church in England.'

"At the same time my opinion is that all advocacy of such measures should be temperate and calm, respectful towards 'those powers which be, and which are ordained of God,' and not calculated needlessly to produce collision between Church and State, or disruption of that union, which, with all its drawbacks, I believe to be fraught with great blessings to the people of this land.

"I have the honour to be, Rev. and dear Sir,

"Your faithful Brother,

"E. H. BROWNE.

"REV. H. J. COOPE."

And this was followed, a few days later, by the following reply to Mr. Coope's second letter :—

"KENWYN, *June 25th*, 1852.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am glad to learn that my reply to your questions has been satisfactory to you. On such general points it was obviously right that the clergy should know my sentiments, before they honour me with their confidence so far as to nominate me as one of their proctors. On matters of detail, no doubt, you would not desire me to pledge myself. It is almost impossible to foresee what questions may arise; and should you think to send me to Convocation as your representative, you would not expect me to become merely a delegate or mouthpiece. At the same time, I assure you that I am so far from feeling confidence in my own judgment that I should always thankfully receive guidance and counsel from my brethren.

"I quite agree with what you say about the separation of Church and State. We may safely trust that God will not let the Church suffer, when she is more than ever deprived of all aid but His—if her state of destitution and condition as an outcast have not arisen from the rashness and self-confidence of her own children. But I would not cast off her worldly privileges from mere wantonness or impetuosity. If the tyranny of the powers of this world causes the dissolution of our fellowship, we have no

cause to fear. We may then 'break their bonds asunder and cast away their cords from us.' But I still hope that such a crisis may not arrive ; and sound Churchmen as well as good citizens may, I think, justly labour to avert it.

" I am, dear Sir,

" Very faithfully yours,

" E. H. BROWNE.

" REV. H. J. COOPE."

Mr. Browne was accordingly elected Proctor for Convocation, and so became a member of that body at the moment when it forced the hand of the Upper House, by appointing committees, and holding a real session, instead of being prorogued immediately after voting the formal Address to the Crown. Four years before, an amendment to the Address had been moved and passed in the Lower House, and had been carried through the Upper, praying that Her Majesty would grant her license to Convocation to act ; and in the interval between 1847 and 1852 legal advice had been sought, which brought out clearly the fact that there was no constitutional bar to the revival of Convocation, the law recognising the existence of the body, and the only obstacles to renewed activity being the need of royal assent and license before any new canon could be promulged. It also appeared to some of the lawyers that the Archbishop had no right to prorogue Convocation without consent of his suffragans. Encouraged by these legal opinions, when Convocation met in November 1852, those desirous to see the revival, having agreed beforehand on a course of action, put forward a very moderate plea for time. The Bishop of Oxford, Wilberforce, moved an amendment to the Archbishop's draft Address to the Crown, to the effect that Convocation was about to appoint Committees to consider plans for correction of clergy if they were found to offend

against the laws ecclesiastical. The Archbishop, perhaps influenced by the power and eloquence of the Bishop of Oxford, instead of at once proroguing Convocation as usual, fixed a day four days later for the resumption of the debate. Committees were appointed and sat; and after a protest against prorogation made by the four Bishops of Oxford, Salisbury, Chichester, and St. David's Convocation was prorogued on November 17th, till the following February.

And thus began the new life of this ancient and constitutional body.

Of the part played by Professor Browne in these early days of Convocation, we catch one or two glimpses in his letters. The one of these is a graphic narration of a historic scene, the other tells us how from the outset he took decided part with the more prudent and cool-headed members of the High Church party, in modifying the eagerness of the fighting men, more especially of Archdeacon Denison. Nothing could be more charming than to read the account of that ancient defender of the faith, using the strongest language, condemning all who could not see with him to terrific penalties, and then, directly the battle was over, meeting his antagonists on most friendly and brotherly terms. The following letter to Mrs. Harold Browne, dated November 3rd, 1852, bears testimony to the spirit in which Convocation worked, and to the position taken by Professor Browne in it:—

“I have been all day at work again. I have regular stand-up fights with Archdeacon Denison, which terminate in expressions of mutual esteem—so that we do not suffer seriously by the encounters. But I think I have succeeded in very materially modifying his strong expressions, if I have not been able quite to eradicate all that I could wish. I have to work almost alone. But my courage has not failed me; and I trust that a higher Power has sustained

me. I am not so tired to-day as yesterday, and feel very well—though I could not bear a very long continuance of such discussions as we have had yesterday and to-day. I think the greatest troubles have now been got over.”

The closing words of this letter give us a glimpse into the motions of a good man's heart:—

“You must kiss all the chicks, and tell them a little about their pappy, and how much he loves them all, and that he prays God to bless them all and to make them His children. I ought to write to them.”

At the close of this first real session of Convocation, the Queen received the Address of the two Houses in state. The account of the ceremony is not without a certain interest. It is contained in a letter, written many years after to Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Guildford, Prolocutor of the Lower House, in which the Bishop says:—

“I am the only living Bishop, almost the only living man, who was present when Convocation, awakened from the death-sleep of a century and a quarter, presented its first Address to the Queen. Your uncle, Archbishop Sumner, read it as President.

“When the Address was sent down from the Bishops to the Lower House, I ventured to make my first move, and was somewhat frightened by my own voice. It seemed to me wrong that in a document emanating from the representative assembly of a great Christian Church there should be no word which shewed that we belonged to Christ; and I moved that the defect should be remedied by the insertion of a few words containing the name of our Saviour. Deans and Archdeacons whispered enquiringly who the young proctor was that ventured to correct the orthodoxy of the united Episcopate; but they adopted my amendment, all the same.

“When we went to Buckingham Palace in considerable numbers, we had to wait a weary while in an antechamber. Suddenly the doors were thrown open, and I think we had the most royal scene I have ever witnessed. At the farther end of the presence chamber the Queen was in front of

her throne, under a grand canopy. The Prince Consort and some of the royal children were just behind her. All the principal Ministers and great officers of state were on the right and left. The Duchess of Sutherland, as Mistress of the Robes, was on her right, holding the largest bouquet I ever saw. The Gentlemen of the Body Guard in full military dress lined the room and formed an avenue for us to walk up under glittering chandeliers, etc., etc. I have never been so much struck with any royal pageant since. It seems to me, looking back now nearly thirty-five years upon it, to have been much more striking than the Queen's opening of Parliament. A royal wedding at St. George's Chapel is the only pageant of the kind which has impressed me nearly so much. But I was very young to such things then, going up from my distant home in Cornwall. I am now old and *blasé*. The Archbishop read the Address and presented it. The Queen replied sitting.

"She read with the clearest and most silvery voice, very graciously, but with a rather emphatic distinctness, especially when she came to the words 'My Supremacy,' which she spoke significantly and incisively. We made our bows; the Archbishop and the Prolocutor (Dean Peacock) kissed hand, and we backed out of the Royal Presence into primeval obscurity. Possibly, Archdeacons Harrison and Denison were there besides me. I cannot think of any other living member of Convocation. So I relate to the present Prolocutor what happened under his archiepiscopal uncle, when the Queen first spoke, rejoicing that she is now speaking again."

The letter is dated by the reference to "nearly thirty-five years ago"; it would be in 1852 that this scene took place.

The question is often asked, whether Convocation has justified the hopes of its friends, or has been a source of danger to the Church, as its opponents foreboded? We are perhaps too near the time to be able to form a decided judgment on these questions; and, in truth, the whole subject is still somewhat obscure. One thing is certain—it has not justified the fears with which good and timid Churchmen regarded it; it may safely be said that the

influence of Convocation has throughout been conservative and conciliatory. Extreme parties have failed to bend it to their will ; and the deliberations and acts of the two bodies, if narrowed in scope and often lacking in practical results, have as a rule been dignified and moderate. That Convocation has mainly taken its character from the High Church party is obvious : this, however, is only to say that the years of the revived activity of the two Houses have also been the years of the vigorous advance of that party. Considering the legal restrictions under which Convocation labours ; considering the great excess of *ex officio* members in the Lower House and the narrow limitation of the electorate, by which all clergy engaged in school work, all curates of parishes, all chaplains of institutions, are excluded, it is wonderful to see how well on the whole Convocation has justified the revival. Many reforms in the Church have been carried through Parliament in consequence of the representations of Convocation ; great opportunities have been provided for the discussion of matters affecting the welfare of the Church : above all, the minds of men, irritated by the want of some definite and recognised deliberative body, have been calmed and to some degree satisfied. Diocesan Conferences and the Church Congresses have also impressed on the English people the fact that the English Church is full of life and energy. It has shewn, too, that there is a vast breadth of opinion within the Church, temperate and sober, averse to pushing matters to extremes, prepared to tolerate a good deal of eccentricity or even folly, if it is shewn that the foolish or eccentric persons are in earnest and are really, after their light, devoting themselves to the practical service of Christ and His people. All things considered, it is clear that the revival of Convocation, though the body suffers greatly from lack of power to enforce its convictions,

has worked for good to the Church, and has perhaps done as much as the deliberative action of a Church wedded to the State can ever be expected to do. And were, one day, the relation between Church and State to be broken, here is the machinery with which our Church could fashion a more independent life. In these days, in which the State is more and more compelled to listen to the popular voice, it is all-important that the Church also should know what is going on around and within, and should not shut herself up in aristocratic indifference. The leading party in the Church has come to see that the most important religious question of the immediate future is the relation between the Anglican Church and the people. By degrees we may even come to take the people into our confidence, and listen to them with as much courtesy and deference as we exact from them when we talk, and as we have been wont to pay to our superiors when they talk to us.

It comes then to this, that Convocation has already done a very important work in the revived Church; and that the influence of this chief Parliament of religion in England is likely to become far greater in the future; the decisions arrived at will have increasing force, and the moderation of tone prevailing there, a moderation which has from time to time been tested by unwise and extreme proposals, will probably enable it to lessen the disruptive tendencies certain to make themselves felt in any crisis of the history of the Church of England. The existence also of the House of Laymen, a modern innovation, may become a guarantee that Convocation will take not a mere clerical view of Church affairs, but will feel the weight and importance of the laity, who after all, did they but know it, are the Church.

These overwhelming activities and interests were enough

to occupy the energies of the strongest ; and Mr. Browne, undertaking his new duties with a weakened frame and a courage far beyond his strength, was soon made to feel that there were limits to his energies. He had unfortunately made himself liable to attack by a bad fall at Lampeter, which had hurt his spine. A man so tall had "too much territory to defend," and his back gave way when he had ventured on the extravagance of over-work. He had not been long at Kenwyn before, in 1850, a severe attack of inflammation of the spine obliged him to take to his bed. There he remained for several months. He was thrown down, but not defeated ; these months of enforced quietude were hailed by him as a providential time of leisure in which to fulfil his promise to the Lampeter lads. It is to this Kenwyn illness that we owe the completion of the first volume of the work on the Thirty-Nine Articles, on which so much of his reputation rests. It came about thus. At Lampeter he was bound to instruct his pupils in the articles of the Christian faith and the formularies of the Church. Now, the Thirty-Nine Articles were the obvious text-book for the purpose. Their moderation, as an expression of the mind of the reformed Church of England, and the way in which they cover the whole surface of dogma, discipline, and Church order, commended the Articles from every side to Mr. Browne's mind. His even-mindedness, his learning, and his love of Church antiquity, there found encouragement and subjects ready to hand. An inferior teacher, feeling the backwardness of the students, and alarmed by the breadth and depth of the questions treated in the Articles, would no doubt have contented himself with a formal discussion of each ; with a good bit of "learning by heart" on the part of the students, and some slight historical and other explanation by the teacher, the young

men would have seemed sufficiently equipped for their Ordination examination. But Mr. Browne treated the matter far more thoroughly: he handled the Articles as living things; gave the young men much to think about; got them to store up an acquaintance with theological questions, which would come in very handily in their public ministry afterwards; and made his lectures a thorough course of divinity. The students, feeling the usefulness of this teaching, met together one day in the latter part of 1847, and agreed that they would petition the Vice-Principal to publish his lectures as a permanent text-book of Theology. Mr. Browne, however, found no means of fulfilling his undertaking till after he had left Lampeter. The earlier part of the work was forward when he came to Kenwyn, though by no means ready for the press.

It was not till 1850 that the students received their copies of the first edition of the earlier portion of the work, and read what they had heard with so much profit in the Lampeter lecture-room. Archdeacon Hardy gives us a touch of the life of the patient worker in this time of his physical weakness and suffering.

"It was felt," he writes, "as a real privilege by his clerical brethren to be admitted occasionally to his bedside, to find him, surrounded by his books, cheerfully working at his *Opus Magnum*. I recollect one occasion on which I was delighted by his asking me to copy out some Greek quotations for his forthcoming work. Happily, while this task was exercising his mental powers, his bodily strength was quietly returning, and at last was fully restored. I think he attributed the loss of bodily power to his having over-exerted himself when 'stroke' of the Emmanuel boat at Cambridge. However this might be, our Church has reason to be thankful for the repose thus given to him in mature life, to her permanent gain."

The work thus brought into being was received at once with much applause on every hand. The first volume

carried the exposition as far as the fifteenth Article ; and after the lapse of three busy years the remainder of the work made its appearance, and met with a similar reception from students of Church doctrine and institutions. It was felt on all sides that never before had the character and claims of the English Church been set out so clearly, and with so little to offend : men hailed the author as the upholder of a moderate and conservative High Church position. It was perfectly true, as the "Guide-Book to Books" puts it, that here we have, "not a classic, but the fullest book of the kind available." For lectures, commentaries, expositions, cannot aim at being "classics" ; their business is on another level. The question really is, whether the book before us, being intended to explain the body of Divinity of the English Church, does it in such a way as to clear off difficulties, elucidate the propositions laid down, steer a good course between conflicting opinions, and make the doctrine and discipline of the Church easier to Churchmen. The qualities required for such a work are soundness of knowledge, especially in the whole sphere of the growth of dogma and institutions, honesty and truthfulness of spirit in dealing with the abstruse questions involved, the rare gift of exposition, an orderly power of arrangement, a charitable construction of other men's opinions, a genuine belief in the truth of the main principles of the Christian religion ; also a true sense of proportion, to balance between things more or less essential and important ; and lastly a pleasant style, bright without being poetical, simple yet not bald. Now, in the main, Mr. Browne's Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles possessed these important practical qualities. We feel that we are dealing with a very honest person ; he is devoted to the Church of which he undertakes to explain the theology and structure ; his convictions, however strong, do not degenerate into partisanship ;

the middle position of the Anglican Church delights him ; the views and opinions of those who hold a more extreme position affect him little ; he makes all allowance he can, and realises that even a Church must have room to swing. Above all, while he does not enter sympathetically into the views of those opposed to him, he treats all with a rare courtesy, and shews such charity and moderation that the best of his opponents are won to him even while they protest against his opinions.

The best account of the object of the work may perhaps be found in the simple and straightforward words of the introduction :—

“ In the following pages an attempt is made to interpret and explain the Articles of the Church, which bind the consciences of her clergy, according to their natural and genuine meaning ; and to prove that meaning to be both scriptural and catholic. None can feel so satisfied, nor act so straightforwardly, as those who subscribe them in such a sense. But if we consider how much variety of sentiment may prevail amongst persons, who are, in the main, sound in the faith, we can never wish that a National Church, which ought to have all the marks of catholicity, should enforce too rigid and uniform an interpretation of its formularies and terms of union. The Church should be not only Holy and Apostolic, but, as well, One and Catholic. Unity and universality are scarcely attainable where a greater rigour of subscription is required than such as shall ensure an adherence and conformity to those great catholic truths, which the primitive Christians lived by, and died for.”

Bishop Thirlwall, to whom Mr. Browne had dedicated the work, “ in affectionate gratitude for unsought and unexpected kindness, and with deep respect for profound intellect and high Christian integrity,” replied at once, to the receipt of the first volume :—

“ ABERGWIL’, CARMARTHEN, 30th September, 1850.

“ MY DEAR SIR,—On my return last Saturday from the

consecration of a church near Swansea, I found the first volume of your Exposition of the Articles. I shall ever value it exceedingly as a memorial of the relation which existed between us, though I am quite ashamed of being spoken of as your kindness has dictated in the Dedication. I must however add that I have been very much pleased with the plan and the execution of the work, so far as I could judge of it from the exposition of the first Article, which is all I have yet read ; and I believe that, especially in this diocese, it may very advantageously supersede the best books hitherto used on the subject. . . .

“Yours faithfully,

“C. ST. DAVID’S.

“REV. E. HAROLD BROWNE.”

The Dean of Exeter fully appreciates the *via media* quality of the work, for he speaks of the want long

“felt by those who know how necessary it is that the candidate for Ordination in our Church should be thoroughly grounded in the principles of dogmatic theology. Without this, some will be starting aside after the way of Gorham, others will take shelter in Romish infallibility, and still more, perhaps, will be captivated with Bunsen’s Church of the future, or the Pantheism of Spinoza.”

And after the receipt of the second volume in April 1853, Dean Lowe writes again. After referring to a slight grammatical error, he proceeds :—

“And now, having pointed out the only microscopic blemish I can discover in your work, let me assure you that I admire it as cordially as people are apt to admire whatever entirely agrees with their own sentiments and opinions, and places them in the most advantageous light. In its lucid arrangement, its copiousness of illustration, its clear and candid statements of conflicting opinion, and the sound and impartial judgment with which those opinions are weighed, it cannot fail to be of the highest value to the theological student, and I most heartily wish that all who peruse it may imbibe at least a portion of the truly Christian spirit in which it is written.”

I am tempted to add a testimony of a very different kind. The Rev. W. A. Hales, of St. John's, Heywood, near Manchester, who in his day had attended the Norrisian Professor's lectures at Cambridge, says :—

“There is a very humble tradesman in this town, in whose sitting-room I was surprised and delighted to find your work on the Thirty-Nine Articles. I was still more surprised to find that it had been most carefully read and annotated. Conversation with the man proved that the book had been, through God's mercy, a guide to him and a friend. It helped to lead him, he says, to the truth, and it helps to keep him rooted and grounded in it.”

Two little touches, shewing the influence of the work in later days, shall close the subject.

“I was being shewn,” says a friend of the Bishop, “over Birmingham Barracks, and was taken to see a school for soldiers' children. The master examined before me in the Catechism; and on ‘secondly, that I should believe all the Articles of the Christian faith,’ asked a boy, ‘And how many Articles of the Christian faith are there?’ And when the lad naturally hesitated, he added, ‘Why, thirty-nine of course,’ . . . no doubt an answer made *in petto* by nine-tenths of the candidates for Orders after reading their Harold Browne.”

The other story has, I think, never seen the light; I had it direct from the late Bishop McDougall. One day many years ago, soon after his return to England from Labuan, the Bishop dropped in on his old friend and tutor Jacobson, then Bishop of Chester. The Bishop was just setting out for Convocation; and Bishop McDougall went in with him, and sat down for a few minutes to watch the assembling of the prelates. Presently, in came the Bishop of Ely, and sitting down on a low seat stretched out his long legs far across the chamber. “I say, Bishop, whose are those tremendous long shanks?” “Don't you know?”

Bishop Jacobson replied, in his deep, gruff voice. "Why, those are Harold Browne's Articles." And that was the first time Bishop McDougall saw the man who afterwards became his firmest and most affectionate friend.

In addition to this chief work on the Articles of religion, Mr. Browne, during his stay at Kenwyn, published several lesser pieces, which all bear witness to his energy, and to the zeal with which he advocated the healthy development of the Church. Some of these publications were sermons: thus, in May 1851 he preached an excellent discourse on "The gifts of the Ascended Saviour," at the triennial visitation of the Bishop of Exeter, held in St. Mary's parish church, Truro; then, a few months later, appeared three sermons, preached in Kenwyn church, in which can be traced very clearly the effect of that "Papal Aggression" which caused so great a turmoil in England in 1851. All Protestant bodies were alarmed, regarding it as a sign of confidence on the part of the Roman Church; and Churchmen were especially disturbed, because it carried the war into their midst, by the appointment of Roman bishops in some of the ancient dioceses. This, of course, was on one side the aim and point of it, being the Vatican's way of saying that it refused to recognise the episcopate of the Church of England, and in its lordly way treated the Anglican dioceses as non-existent. Mr. Browne felt, with the whole body of High Churchmen, that here was a distinct challenge, and he accused the Roman Church of schism; his sermon is a warm appeal to all English people to rally to the Anglican Church, and to abandon extremes: if all England had been united, the "Papal Aggression" would never have been attempted; it is the rift of our unhappy divisions which enables the foreign power to make a lodgment in our midst. He does not pay much heed to the down-trampling of the British

Church by the emissaries of Rome in the sixth century, but holds that we, as the successors of the Church established by St. Augustine of Canterbury, have ever held to the faith, while Rome, whence he came, has drifted far away from the standpoint of those times. Very bitter to the preacher was the action of the "Bishop of Rome," who had

"denied the very existence of our Church ; had put bishops of his own making into the dioceses of the English bishops ; and by parcelling out the land into new divisions, and creating new titles in it, has usurped the authority of our Queen, as well as treating our Church and our fellow Christians as heathens, and our bishops and clergy as impostors."

Churchmen have since then become accustomed to the sight of Roman prelates, and recognise and respect them as representative heads of the Roman Obedience. It is bad, no doubt, to find so good and ancient a theory as that of one Bishop in one diocese unequal to the necessities of Christian life in our day ; yet still it is so : and, after all, the more vivid our faith in Christ, the more tolerant we shall grow towards those who do not see things as we do. Mr. Browne, at the close of this sermon, places the matter on much higher ground ; for Christ hath made us free, and we can therefore look without fear on the efforts made to enthral mankind or to turn it from the open Book.

The second sermon is on Antichrist, a subject which had great fascination for the Bishop ; he chose it a second time in his old age, in 1883, when he preached at the opening of the Reading Church Congress. The third sermon, "On the Prospects of the New Year," is also tinged by the influence of the so-called "Papal Aggression." It is rather a sad review of the past than an attempt to look bravely into the future ; it is perhaps most notable for

the closing sentence, which, coming from so warm and sincere a defender of the Anglican Established Church, proves that Mr. Browne would never have associated himself with the extravagant language now popular respecting the temporalities of the Church. "Once let the Church of England fall,—I do not mean the Church *Establishment*, that is but the shell of which the Church is the kernel and the truth,—once let the *Church*, founded by apostles and reformed by martyrs, cease to be the Church of the people and their affections; and be sure that Romanism or unbelief will soon be the only choice that you will have."

There was yet another sermon published in this year, one preached at Kenwyn on November 23rd, 1851, on "Religious Excitement," which was a grave protest against the "Aitkenite" movement, shewing how an earnest and careful parish priest in those parts should deal with the revivalist excitements of the Celtic population.

The Rev. F. C. Jackson was at this time one of the Kenwyn curates, and he describes in a characteristic letter the different impressions left on different minds by Mr. Aitken's preaching at this time.

"I remember," he writes, "the Aitkenite movement very well indeed, and the effect it had upon Haslem, who spoke to me about the impression old Aitken had upon him, especially in a sermon he preached at Baldhu in a service at which I helped. The sermon was on Gen. xxviii. 18 (Jacob's lie to his father); but the more it attracted Haslem the more it repelled me. I remember how I felt that Aitken had simply been converted to the Brianite faith; and the noise of his deep discordant voice eminently fitted him for the line he had taken up. The singular temperament of Haslem yielded to the howlings of a man whose sacred position and years gave weight to a doctrine which all around him in the hands of the Brianite preachers was pointless.

"I had much conversation with Haslem after this ; he wanted me to join him in his convictions, but I could not. . . . It all grieved Harold Browne : many and many a serious talk we had together, and I found comfort in the decided way in which he expressed views which were similar, though less defined, in me."

The "Brianite" (or "Bryanite") preachers were nearly identical with the "Bible Christians" ; they split off from the Cornish Methodists, under the leadership of Mr. William O'Bryan, a local Wesleyan preacher. This gentleman in 1815 severed himself from the Wesleyan body without any real difference of doctrine, and was followed by a crowd of simple people, eager to live according to the principles of the most primitive Christianity, as they conceived it to be portrayed for them in the pages of the Bible. They have at the present day a large number of chapels in Devon and Cornwall.

The second volume of Mr. Browne's work on the Articles was at the time engaging much of his time and thoughts. No wonder it gave him some anxiety ; no wonder we feel that a prayerful spirit was on him all the time, to keep him from extremes and to "guide" him (for so his petition ever ran) "into all truth." This second volume, which appeared from J. W. Parker's press in 1853, contained all the Articles on the Sacraments ; the subject which had so lately filled the Western world with excitement. His treatment of this side of the Church's system of Divinity, a branch difficult and thorny in theory, and infinitely simple by God's blessing in practice, is a judicious exposition of the Anglican middle view on the subject. The late controversy on Infant Baptism leaves no trace on the fair and dispassionate surface of his treatment of the Regeneration question ; he takes the Bishop of Exeter's side, but so temperately and simply that his views were

generally accepted. This standard work on the English "Confession" of the sixteenth century, on Anglican dogmatic theology, and on the structure of Church order, has won for itself, in spite of the disfavour into which the study of doctrine has unfortunately fallen, a position which seems likely to be permanent. It marks the standing-ground of High Church theology in England from the sixteenth century down to the present day. We do not now deal with the intellectual problems of dogma with that keenness and vigour with which they were handled in the days of the Reformation. In those times the whole energies of theological feeling were thrown into the great contests which raged round doctrine and Church order; and the resultant bodies of divinity which emerged on every hand bear witness to the struggles and the enthusiasms of the day. The Augsburg Confession of the Lutherans began it; John Calvin was not far behind with the "Institutes of the Christian Religion"; the Scots, with their hard-headed intellectual temper, quickly framed their "Confession of Faith" and "Book of Discipline"; the English Reformers put out the Thirty-Nine Articles; and lastly, the Church of Rome responded to the general movement towards Dogmatic Theology by the issue of the Tridentine Decrees. Perhaps, when the English Church reaches the critical moment of a reaction from the sensuous tendencies of the day—themselves a reaction from the indifferent dulness of official religion earlier in the century—the masculine study of dogmatic theology may revive again, and once more be regarded as a thing worthy of the study of the best intellects. We may then wed the womanly side, as one may say, of religion, the exercise of cultivated taste, the consciousness of life in the family of the Church, the appeal to the feelings and aspirations of frail humanity, with the more

robust and systematised theology which by historic development has slowly been framed out of the glimpses given us in Holy Scripture. We may then be able to enjoy to the full the ripeness of religious life in which the spirit of the Lord will give light to all the dogmas and ordinances of the faith, and letter and spirit will no longer stand in sharp contrast. We can imagine that in such a time Harold Browne's work on the Thirty-Nine Articles will surely have a fresh time of favour; and people will see in the learning, the charitable spirit, and moderation of it, a true picture of the position occupied by the English Church.

The structure of the Methodist bodies, which came at this time much under Mr. Browne's notice, and the pressure of the large area and population of his parishes, set his active and constructive mind in motion in the direction, which he ever afterwards followed, of seeing how far, and under what limitations, the help of active Christian laymen could be secured for the Church. In 1854 he read before the Ruridecanal Chapter of Powder a paper on "Thoughts on an Extension of the Diaconate and on Lay Agency," which was printed by request of the members of that Deanery. The paper opens with a friendly recognition of the good work done by the Wesleyan body, though he seems, by an odd inversion, to attribute to their activity the result that "nothing like the same proportion of our (Cornish) population attend a place of worship now, when compared with those who frequented their parish church a century ago." There is a striking and tolerant passage in this valuable pamphlet, which ought to be quoted as shewing with how broad a view Mr. Browne regarded the limits of opinion. "I would rather," he says, "see a certain amount of error (not fatal or fundamental) in the Church, than see every one who cannot correctly pronounce all our

shibboleths cast out." And the paper shews also that his mind was already much set on the revival of synodal action in the English Church "as a means whereby wholesome reforms might be safely brought into our polity." The pamphlet is a very strong condemnation of the *surtout point de zèle* attitude often too common in the clerical world.

Mr. Browne had only been at Kenwyn for three years when disturbing influences began. Some time in 1853 there seems to have been a wish that he should become a candidate for the Hebrew Professorship at Cambridge ; of this, however, nothing came ; in the same August he was in touch with two men who afterwards were causes of much anxiety to him. On August 25th, 1853, he received a letter from Bishop Gray, of Cape Town, asking him to suggest the name of some person suitable to be nominated for the new Bishopric of Graham's Town ; the Bishop would have been only too glad had Mr. Browne responded, "Here am I ; take me."

Writing about it many years later, he definitely says that it was so.

"Graham's Town was virtually offered to me before Armstrong took it. I was obliged to decline it. I myself was very ill at the time, and I had a dear child paralysed and full of suffering, whom I could not have taken and could not have left."

He had given himself to work in England and could not leave his invalid daughter, and so he passed the matter by. After a short delay the Bishop of Cape Town's choice fell on Mr. Armstrong, who, together with a man destined to create hereafter a great excitement in the Church, Mr. Colenso, was consecrated Bishop in this year.

Mr. Colenso had been an active Incumbent in the diocese of Norwich, a moderate High Churchman, zealous

in the cause of Missions ; it was in consequence of the advice of friends on the Board of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and other stout Churchmen, that Bishop Gray nominated him to the Duke of Newcastle and the Primate, and he was consecrated Bishop of Natal. Who can say what might have happened had Mr. Browne been his colleague and neighbour in the work ? One thing is certain, they would both have been the zealous friends and champions of the native races, and the unpleasant strife of later years, which brought no credit to any one, might possibly have been avoided.

BOOK II.

1853—1863.

CHAPTER I.

NORRISIAN PROFESSOR.

IN November 1853 Mr. Browne became a candidate for the Norrisian Professorship at Cambridge. This office, one of the chief theological posts in that University, used to be filled by a very curious method of selection, the like of which could hardly be found elsewhere. Candidates had to send in their names to the "Three Stewards," the Master of Trinity, the Provost of King's, and the Master of Corpus, who selected two, whose names they submitted to the Heads of Houses. Mr. Browne's application, addressed to the Master of Trinity, runs as follows :—

"November 24th, 1853.

"My opinions are, I believe, in simple accordance with the doctrines of the Church of England; and I trust they are consistent with the most entire charity to all who dissent from her. Whilst I do not acknowledge anything like latitudinarianism, I lay claim to large religious sympathies, and therefore have a peculiar dislike to exclusive sectarianism."

He then goes on to urge that the fact of his being a parish clergyman should be in his favour, and ends by frankly admitting and deploring the idleness which had hindered his undergraduate success. On January 24th, 1854, Dr. Archdall, Master of Emmanuel, wrote to tell him that he and the Rev. C. Hardwick, Fellow of St. Catherine's

Hall, had been selected. At their next meeting the Heads proceeded to the election, and out of twelve present ten voted for Mr. Browne, who was thereon declared to be duly elected Norrisian Professor of Divinity, and was admitted to the office on May 6th following.

"Everybody speaks of it," he writes on the day of his admission, "as a most important and influential office; but all speak of it too as very hard work; and alas! at first we shall be much the poorer for it. . . . Professor Blunt says that the society at Cambridge is particularly pleasant, remarkably easy, and with very few people who talk to shine, though so many who can shine if they aim at doing so. May God in His goodness bless this new change in our prospects and duties to them and to us, here and hereafter, for our blessed Saviour's sake."

He appears to have been allowed to retain his old rooms in College; for a little later (April 27th, 1854) we find him writing to his wife: "I have been obliged to leave my rooms in College, which recalled my boyish days, and if I had stayed long in them I should have become a foolish boy again in my old age. There was some danger of my appearing in a straw hat and a round jacket, and going down to the river to take the stroke oar in the boat."

His lectures began in the October Term of 1854. "I gave my first lecture to-day. I felt very nervous at first lecturing, the more so as I found my lecture was not half long enough for the hour. However, I concluded by an extempore lecture, and so got through the hour pretty well." And speaking of the effort of beginning this new life of teaching he says, a few days later: "I can do twice as much here as I can at Kenwyn; for I am sure I should be half dead by this time if I had worked there as I have done here for the last fortnight."

The interests and excitements of the University town had acted as a tonic on his delicate frame. "I have invita-

tions to dinner six deep," he writes, "which is dreadful. You may guess, however, that I am not seriously hurt by eating or writing yet ; for I walked a round to-day which I am told is six miles ; I suppose in Cornwall I could not do more than half, though I trust my powers of locomotion are returning a little." And other work came swiftly to him. He was made Examiner, which involved very much labour ; and the University Press consulted him as to the publication of books. Thus he writes (February 29th, 1856) : "I have a deal of work on hand just now, having to read a MS. book of Mr. Scrivener's, a collation of several Greek MSS., to see whether the University Press should print it. Besides, I have lots to do on my own account."

After a very short time the Professor was joined by his wife and family, and occupied a comfortable house, "Newnham Cottage," at the back of the Colleges. It was divided from the grounds of King's and Queens' Colleges by the Cam. A little wicket opening into an arched way led to the house door. A garden gave room for the boys to play boy-cricket, and enabled them to blow off their redundant spirits while their father worked within. In those days there were very few ladies at either University, only Heads of Houses and a few Professors being married ; and here and there, a wonder to see, a stripling daughter growing up to womanhood. Dinners, except at the houses of Heads, were very rare ; and to these only a select few were bidden. The rest of the narrow University public were entertained in large evening parties. Professor Thomson used to say that "the Heads were asked to dinner and the Brains to tea." Mrs. Harold Browne, in her Diary for 1856, in which she jotted down some of the bright impressions of those days, thus describes the life of Cambridge :—

"Our first dinner-party was at Trinity Lodge, when

Whewell was Master—and such a Master! He towered over all in mind and body; he had a fine large leonine head, with grizzly hair and shaggy eyebrows; not one good feature, but eyes which seemed to look into everything and everybody; and when he spoke he sparkled all over, and no one could think him plain. We met there Trench, then Dean of Westminster, with his wife and beautiful daughter. Whewell sat in the middle of his table with Trench opposite, and they talked for the good of the public on poetry, etc. I sat next to the Master of Downing, who was most agreeable, having a constant flow of conversation, but I could hear Whewell's hailstones over all the patter. . . . Perhaps the most delightful companion of all was dear Professor Sedgwick, one of my father's oldest friends. We often had tea with him in his rooms at Trinity. On one of these occasions he was most entertaining; he knew Sir Walter Scott very well, and said that when 'Old Mortality' came out he was so much delighted with it that he was obliged to take off his coat and jump over the chairs to get off a little of his animal spirits; and then he sat down and read again. He thought Scott's best novel was 'Guy Mannering.' He was with Basil Hall when he (Hall) bought the MS. of the 'Antiquary' for £30, much under its value. Sir Walter told him that he thought the 'Antiquary' his best novel; and on Basil Hall asking him, he wrote this opinion and his reasons for thinking so on a flyleaf of the MS., so making it doubly valuable. Sedgwick and Sir Roderick Murchison were travelling abroad, and on reaching a village on the borders of Hungary fell into talk with the village schoolmaster, partly in Latin, partly in Italian. The schoolmaster, finding that they came from England, asked whether they knew Sir Walter Scott, and on their saying that he was a great friend of theirs the little man threw up his arms in ecstasy, crying out, 'Thank God, I have seen two men who know Sir Walter Scott!'

And she adds:—

"There is a learned look even in the buildings; the streets and dwelling-houses not being very fine rather adds to this effect. The College and University buildings look like Hebrew and Greek characters among common printed letters. Then, the passers-by in the streets are half of them robed figures, with the square cap on their heads,

looking as if more learning was hidden by those folds and that becoming head-dress than could be possible under a swallow-tailed coat and a high-crowned hat. Then you constantly hear sweet-toned bells calling to prayer or to lectures, or at five o'clock to what makes many run still faster—to their respective College dinners. At this time you see great numbers of undergraduates in their gay costumes coming from boating or cricket, from two to four being the usual hour for exercise, when all rush into the air the moment their morning's work is over. The older men take their constitutional to Trumpington or to Granchester, or to the Observatory. Good causeways being on all these roads, they only have to walk straight along, without the trouble of thinking where they are going, which allows them to ruminate on the walks of science, or to talk Theology, or discuss University Reform with some kindred spirit."

Mr. Browne now thought it right to proceed to his degrees in Divinity, and on March 14th, 1855, took his B.D. Very shortly after, Professor Blunt, who had been a warm friend to his young colleague, died, and the important Lady Margaret Professorship, an office said to be the richest in the University, being worth quite £1500 a year, became vacant. The death of Professor Blunt, "one of the most honoured and lamented of the members of our Church and University," was a serious loss to the cause of learned and moderate Churchmanship; and great was the anxiety and speculation as to who would succeed him in this high office. College interests and theological predilections clashed mightily; and the struggle for the post aroused unwonted interest.

The election, which followed on June 29th, 1855, was in some respects one of the strangest that had ever taken place. In the first place, the candidature of Professor Browne was a revolt on the part of the University against the theological dominance of St. John's College. In former days, and perhaps even to present times, the rest of the University groaned not a little under the great weight of

Trinity ; for that College, thanks to overwhelming numbers, was able to exert preponderant influence in most elections. On the other hand, for those theological posts for which graduates in Divinity alone voted, St. John's, which had a far larger list of B.D. and D.D. members than any other College, perhaps than all other Colleges combined, had long held possession of the Lady Margaret Chair ; so much so that the last seven Professors had all been Johnians.

There were originally six candidates for the Professorship ; of these three withdrew, leaving in the field William Selwyn of St. John's, Henry John Rose, also of St. John's, and Professor Browne. It will be seen that the weight of St. John's was somewhat diminished by a party split ; the effect of theological differences thus telling, though not fatally, on the voting-power of the College.

The election on June 29th was preceded by a notice from the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Guest, Master of Caius College, to the effect that "no elector who is not present at the commencement of the proceedings, to hear the requisite documents read, and to take the prescribed oath, will be entitled to vote." Among these "requisite documents" was a Deed of Foundation of 1502 which regulated the process of voting, laying it down that votes should be taken man by man, beginning with the junior B.D., and so upward by seniority to the oldest D.D. there present. After the oath had been duly administered to all the qualified voters, a hundred and four in number, and while the Vice-Chancellor was consulting with his assessors (the Senior B.D. and the Senior D.D.) as to procedure, the Registrary of the University began to call the names of the B.D.'s, from the junior onwards. He had before him the books requisite for determining the standing of the electors, and began in accordance with the Deed of

Foundation. As, however, there was considerable delay, and the process appeared likely to be slow, a large number of the electors went up to the Registry's table to ask that votes might be taken in any order; the Vice-Chancellor on being appealed to refused to be interfered with; he says in a letter written afterwards, "As we had not yet considered the clause which refers to the order of voting, and as the whole proceeding was in my opinion an indecorous one, I would not allow our consultation to be interrupted, and refused at that time to listen to them." Hereon, the Master of Trinity naturally understanding from this that the voting would take long, went out of the Senate House so as not to waste time. Almost directly after this, the electors having again appealed to the Vice-Chancellor, he yielded, and the process of voting was changed. The voting papers were all speedily handed in, and on being counted, shewed the following result :—

Selwyn	...	...	...	...	...	43
Browne	...	...	...	...	...	43
Rose	...	...	...	...	...	17

Whereupon, without delay, the Vice-Chancellor gave a casting vote for Mr. Selwyn, and declared him duly elected.

No sooner was this done than Dr. Whewell returned in hot haste to the Senate House, and with no small indignation filled up his voting paper in favour of Mr. Browne and tendered it to the Vice-Chancellor, who had not yet retired. Mr. Guest, however, refused to receive or record it, on the ground that the proceedings were closed. So ended this singular election, "under which," as the angry *Cornwall Gazette* of July 6th, 1855, boldly says, "by the conduct, certainly irregular, and probably illegal, of the Vice-Chancellor, the vote of the Master of Trinity was lost." Had the case gone into the law courts, it is probable

that the Master of Trinity would have been upheld, and either the result reversed or a new election ordered. That the presiding officer should change the order of proceedings in the middle of an election was a very strong measure; that no hour was fixed for the close of the poll was a singular omission; but that after this the Vice-Chancellor, not being an elector, being neither D.D. nor B.D., nor even in holy orders, should have given a casting vote, so deciding the election, seems a most dubious course of action. Scrupulous care ought to have been taken that no advantage should be gained from a surprise; and on behalf of the rights of an elector who had fully qualified to vote, and yet was excluded because he had chanced to be absent at the undefined moment at which the votes were taken, one would have thought that the Vice-Chancellor would at least have given a long breathing-time before declaring the election. The view always taken by law-courts, that they are the protectors of threatened or neglected rights, would, had the case been taken up for judicial decision, have been much in favour of Dr. Whewell's claim. In the correspondence which ensued, the Vice-Chancellor's letters addressed to Professor Browne are hard and cold, as of a man who felt himself in a difficult position, and yet was determined to defend himself against all attacks. They contrast strongly with the charming spirit which runs through all the letters of the aggrieved and hardly-treated candidate.

Dr. Whewell, a few days after the untoward event of the election, wrote Mr. Browne the following letter:—

“LOWESTOFT, *July 5th*, 1857.

“MY DEAR SIR,—I will not deny myself the pleasure of telling you that your letter gave me great pleasure. I had thought that everybody, and you in particular, must

have judged me unpardonably stupid and impatient, to miss voting as I did. It ought not to have occurred, for I was violating a rule which I received from high authority and intended to observe. When the Duke of Wellington came to the Installation of the Chancellor (the Duke of Northumberland, I think), he arrived at my Lodge, and insisted upon going immediately to where the Chancellor was ; saying, 'I must be upon the spot. Nothing like being upon the spot. I came to do honour to the Duke, and must be on the spot.' I came from Lowestoft to vote for you, and ought to have been on the spot.

"I do not cease to regret that you missed a situation which I think it was much to the advantage of the University that you should have had.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Yours most truly,

"W. WHEWELL."

There were two really satisfactory results of this strange election ; the one, the admirable letter addressed by Professor Browne to the *Cornish Gazette*, in reply to their account of the proceedings ; and the other, the real friendship and mutual respect which the successful and unsuccessful candidates ever after felt for each other.

The letter to the Cornish newspaper is so charming an example of the fairness of spirit which characterised the late Bishop, that it is here given in full :—

"To the Editor of the '*Royal Cornish Gazette*.'"

"KENWYN, July 9th, 1855.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I should not think of troubling you with a letter concerning my own affairs, but that, in the notice you took in your last paper of the election for the Margaret Professorship at Cambridge, I fear you may, in your kindness to me, have conveyed to others an unfavourable impression of a gentleman for whom I entertain a sincere respect. This impression, I shall be glad, if you will allow me, to rectify.

"It is perfectly true that the Vice-Chancellor gave notice that the voting should proceed in one way, and afterwards, finding that way tedious, altered it to another.

It is also true that I thereby lost the vote of Dr. Whewell, the Master of Trinity, and so lost the election; for Dr. Whewell was not aware that the plan of voting had been altered. Moreover it is true that this proceeding was irregular and probably illegal.

But I am quite sure that the Vice-Chancellor had no notion that, by making the alteration, he was doing anything which would be unfavourable to either candidate. He no doubt supposed that no voter had left the Senate House, in which case the change in the proceedings would have been of no consequence. I think, I may almost say, it would have been a relief to him if the Master of Trinity had voted.

"Mr. Guest's change of plan and finally his casting vote were certainly disastrous to me; but there is no man in the University whom I believe to be more conscientious in the discharge of the duties of his office, or less likely to be capable of an electioneering trick. Being a layman, he would have had no vote but that he happened to be Vice-Chancellor. In the first instance he did not vote at all, leaving the election in the hands of the D.D.'s and B.D.'s, to whom the Lady Margaret had generally confided it. Owing to Dr. Whewell's temporary absence, the members of the Theological faculty divided equally, forty-three for Canon Selywn and forty-three for me. Then of necessity, and as I believe reluctantly, Mr. Guest exercised his casting vote; and I can have no reason to complain that he gave it in favour of one so highly distinguished, and so generally respected and beloved, as the present Margaret Professor of Divinity. It was certainly a disappointment to find that a majority of the Theological faculty originally present and sworn were favourable to me, and that a layman's casting vote decided against me. But I have never once imagined that any person concerned in this election acted otherwise than honourably, and to the best of his judgment.

"Thanking you for the undeserved terms of praise in which you speak of me,

"I am, dear Sir,

"Very faithfully yours,

"E. HAROLD BROWNE."

No sooner was this difficult matter of the election settled than Professor Selwyn approached Professor Browne with

the most honourable proposals. Selwyn was well off, and had no incumbrances ; while Mr. Browne had a large and growing family and no very plentiful private means ; his Norrisian Professorship was but poorly endowed, and having heavy outgoings at Kenwyn, and two houses to keep up, it is probable that he was even the poorer for his advancement. Mr. Selwyn's suggestion, at first made privately, ran thus : " You should give me half your income, and I should give you half mine, and I hope we shall find with Hesiod ὅσῳ πλεόν ἤμισυ παντός (*Hesiod*, Op. 40)." He then goes on to show that the net professorial income of the Chair is £1506. Mr. Browne replied that so serious a matter ought to be carried out publicly and not by private arrangement. Mr. Selwyn was quite willing for this, and made application accordingly to the Heads of Houses, and they after some deliberation consented to the proposal.

About a year later appeared a Grace of the Senate to enable Dr. Selwyn, as Lady Margaret's Professor, to pay £700 a year to the Vice-Chancellor, to be by him applied towards the augmentation of the Norrisian Professorship so long as it was held by Mr. Browne, with a proviso that if he vacated the post the augmentation should thereupon fall back into the hands of the Senate, to be by them disposed of, as they might deem best, " for the encouragement of theological learning." In this way the two professorships were brought to nearly the same value, and the full time and energies of two Professors of Theology were secured to the University.

Anyone who has seen, in later days, the affectionate and even brotherly terms on which, when Mr. Browne became Bishop of Ely, and Professor Selwyn was at his side as one of the Canons of that Cathedral, these two distinguished members of the now rising Cambridge School

of Divinity lived together, must have felt that their intercourse gave full proof of the charitable and tolerant spirit which from the beginning has been the characteristic mark of that admirable school.

By the terms of the bequest under which the office was created, the Norrisian Professorship was much hindered. Mr. Norris was an ardent admirer of "Pearson on the Creed," and loaded his bequest to the University with the injunction that his Professor should at every lecture read this work to his pupils for the space of twenty minutes, and then comment on it for forty minutes. This mistaken enthusiasm for Pearson made the Professor's lectures almost useless, and the custom was brought to an end in 1860, while Mr. Browne was still Professor, by a Statute of the University.

Some Professors considered themselves at liberty to read their share of Pearson on the Creed every third lecture, so taking the three periods of twenty minutes in the lump; and thus, on the other two lecture days of the week, they got an uninterrupted run of an hour for their own subjects. Professor Browne, however, adhered to the letter of his statute, and took his twenty minutes of Pearson every time, much to his own annoyance and to the detriment of his work. One of those who attended his lectures at this time writes thus :—

"Although the reading [of Pearson] was clear and intelligent, and the excellence of the matter undoubted (Bentley used to say that Pearson's 'very dross was gold'), it was a trying ordeal for a class of graceless undergraduates, who were wont to show impatience unless occupied with a class-book or lighter literature, which was read surreptitiously under the table, and would sometimes have to be noticed. The Professor would always administer his reproof in the most courteous manner, explaining that he was compelled, in obedience to the trust, to occupy a portion of the time with the somewhat dry reading. His kind manner

always had the desired effect, and put to shame the offenders."

The truth is, the Professor was not by nature a strong disciplinarian; the law of love on which he ruled his own life, and the life of his household, with success, was not always safely applicable to the high spirits and merry impudence of the undergraduate who is reading for Orders. The present Master of Trinity has given me a happy illustration of this weak point in the Professor's armour, an illustration which brings out his gentleness of character, and shews that he never could resist the fascinations of a friendly dog.

"One term," said Dr. Butler, "when I was staying up in Cambridge, after having lately taken my Master's Degree, I went in all the glories of my new silk gown, to attend a course of lectures the Professor was giving on St. Augustine. One day, a man happened to come in late, and in with him came a terrier dog, whose master had given him the slip by turning into one of the lecture-rooms. After the affable manner of an undergraduate's dog, the creature at once began to make the round of the class, offering and receiving all kinds of friendly notice from man to man. The whole lecture at once fell into confusion and tittering laughter, and the dear Professor, between his sympathy with the intruder and his gentleness, stood quite powerless, unable to quell the tumult. And so it went on; the terrier, feeling much pleased by the attentions he received and the effect of his polite manners, went on calling on student after student, until at last he reached me, and I, thinking the game had gone on long enough, and that I as a Master was bound to come to the Professor's help, swept my ample silk gown round the lively beast, and carried him out of the room. Order was then restored and the lecture went on again."

Mr. Browne's lectures were of no common quality, and many men of very varied characters were the better for them. Thus Mr. Burnand, the humorous author of

"Happy Thoughts," has sent me a little extract from his undergraduate diary :—

"I have been attending Harold Browne's lectures on Dogmatic Theology. Splendid."

Mr. Burnand, although he has altogether moved away from the Professor's side, transferring his allegiance in matters spiritual to Rome, still looks back with gratitude and affection on Mr. Browne's kindness to him in those far-off Cambridge days, when in 1858 he was full of perplexed uncertainties, and sought the kind sympathetic Professor's advice, and never in vain.

"While he was Norrisian Professor at Cambridge . . . I attended Harold Browne's lectures, and was among the very few who used to go and assault him on 'difficulties.' He was always most considerate and courteous. I have no doubt I was a bore,—'a little Theology is a dangerous thing.' I was deeply interested in my subjects, and, quite unaided, made a list of crucial questions, familiar enough to the student of Divinity. However, the kind Professor gave me his extra time, and at last suggested that I should put aside all other matters and go either to Wells (it was very like telling me to 'go to Bath,' wasn't it?) or to Cuddesdon. The immediate cause of this advice was a question I put to him, to which he was unable to give then and there a complete and satisfactory answer. . . .

"Once again I wrote to consult him about another difficulty. . . . That is all I know of Harold Browne, one of the kindest and gentlest of men, for whom I cherish a reverent affection."

The present Archbishop of York, Dr. Maclagan, in his letter of thanks to the aged Bishop of Winchester on his congratulations at the time of his nomination to that Metropolitan See in 1891, refers to a time, thirty-eight years before, when he had got no small benefit by attending his lectures as Norrisian Professor. Another

distinguished student of the time, Dr. Merriman, sends me a somewhat different impression of the lectures :—

“I attended his lectures. They were very careful and interesting in matter, a little dry and wanting in warmth of manner.”

And there are many others still living who look back with pleasure and gratitude to the influence exerted on them by one who always won the confidence and esteem of young men, listened to them, drew them out, and gave them kindly, wise advice.

From this time the work at Kenwyn (never, we may be sure, neglected) necessarily took a secondary place. No more literary work issued from the damp study against the hillside, for Cambridge engrossed the whole attention of the new Professor. He had lectures to prepare and give ; he moved admirably along the lines of intellectual life which form the great charm of the Universities ; he was recognised as one of the chief factors in that moderate theological movement, conservative yet faithful and truthful, which was now beginning to make itself felt. For Cambridge scholarship, exactitude of thought, reluctance to embark on new ideas, all now took a theological direction : neither the poets nor the prophets of the Oxford movement had their counterparts at Cambridge ; where, instead of exploring new ground, and perhaps wandering across the border into neighbouring folds, men as a rule set to work on exegetics of the Bible, or on the Evidences, or on the patient study of those Eastern tongues which throw light on the early history of Christianity. Mr. Browne returned to Cambridge at the critical point of time ; the three men, whose work, with his, has given stability to the theological movement of our time, and has done so much to secure the Church of England

on the lines of sound scholarship, fair and honest criticism, and a genuine historical appeal to the facts of the history of early Christianity, were at that moment just coming into prominence. Dr. Westcott, now Bishop of Durham, took his degree in 1848, Hort in 1850, Bishop Lightfoot in 1851. Dr. Westcott, replying in 1890 to the Bishop of Winchester's congratulations on his appointment to Durham, speaks warmly of the way in which, on his return to Cambridge to work under Dr. Lightfoot, he was welcomed and encouraged by our Bishop. And Professor Browne never spared himself, was never a recluse, never neglected practical chances of influencing men. Arch-deacon Emery says that:—

“He threw himself actively into the religious work at Cambridge; attended gatherings of students for religious purposes, especially for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In 1858 or 1859 he became an active member of the Church Defence Association; he was thoughtful, moderate, judicious in all things.”

Contact with Cambridge, and the quickened life of moderate Churchmanship which marked that University, could not fail to arouse all Professor Browne's energies, and to send them flowing along the channel of a revived Church life. No man was ever more distinctly a child of Cambridge. His scholarship and his study of early Christian writers formed one side of his industry; his remarkable power of acquiring languages, his singular gift of orderly thinking, his moderation of tone and character, all these qualities came out during these years of quiet work. His kindness attracted rather painful attention at times: people thought they might appeal to him for anything, and place any burden on his shoulders. There is a letter belonging to this period from Charles Marriott of Oriel, begging Professor Browne to revise a translation

of the Paschal Epistles of St. Athanasius from the Syriac, a work lately undertaken by Mr. Burgess. The Professor was asked to take in hand this wearisome and thankless task without the least remuneration for much expenditure of time and energy.

The questions mooted by the so-called "Papal Aggression," with the newly felt need of proving the stability of the position held by the English Church, set Professor Browne thinking much about the principles on which he must take his stand. He saw that there were two lines on which the Reformation could be defended—the right of men to free judgment, and the historic continuity of the Episcopate. The latter appeared to him by far the more important, and essential in a controversy with Rome. When one of the two parties absolutely denies the right of private judgment, the claim to it can only be asserted by using it ; but if the English Church can prove the continuity of its Orders, she will be on ground which even her opponents must respect. The Romanists had shown how important they deemed the point by labouring to discredit the English Episcopate through the Nag's Head Tavern fable, and other such semi-historical arguments. Mr. Browne, without being professedly a historian, was quite convinced that the Roman claim to possess alone a true succession from apostolic days was historically unsound. His mind also brought the chief doctrines in which Rome differs from antiquity, and especially the new dogmas lately promulgated, to the test of Scripture and the consensus of the early centuries of the Church ; and as a result, he was firmly convinced in his own judgment that Rome was an innovator, and that his own conservative position was the only sound one. Still he felt, as every sensitive person has felt, the weight of dimension and antiquity urged by the

other side ; such lofty claims, backed by such dignity and vastness of possession, the world has never seen. And feeling this, he was led to ask how he could best show the real strength and life of the English Church. The argument from historical antiquity must be sustained, and the orthodoxy of the English Church defended ; but more was needed. And this led Churchmen, and Professor Browne among the first, to turn their attention to the organisation of the Church at home, as well as to the relations in which it stood towards other bodies of Christians ; that is, the missionary and other episcopates of the English-speaking world, as well as other ancient episcopal bodies which denied the supremacy of Rome. The first of these matters led men to aim at a more formal organisation of the English Church, by convocation, by conferences, by diverse echoes of synodal or parliamentary action : it became necessary to shew that the Church of England was a living and a self-governing entity, not a mere congregational aggregate of units, nor, on the other hand, a department of the State, as its position as an Established Church had led many to believe.

Hence, first, arose the deep interest with which Bishop Harold Browne regarded all matters relating to the Convocation of the Church. Next, he did all in his power to draw the daughter Churches of the English-speaking world into closer communion with the mother Church. No one ever watched or attended the Lambeth gatherings with more zeal or more hope. Thirdly, he held out a friendly hand to foreign episcopal Churches, whether among the Greeks, or the old Catholics of Germany, or at Utrecht, or elsewhere.

The practical outcome of this interest in the foreign Churches was the creation of the Anglo-Continental Society, which aimed at trying to draw together all

episcopal, non-Roman Churches. This Society, though it has never filled a large space in the interests of the English Church (for men here hardly realise the importance of the currents of religious feeling and Church government abroad), has worked steadily and zealously, on rather old-fashioned High Church lines.

Mr. Browne at once began to take active measures to persuade the English Church to stretch out a friendly hand to the non-Roman part of Christendom, and in 1856 published a letter on the Eastern bishoprics. His friend and colleague, Christopher Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, had also joined the Anglo-Continental movement, and continued to be its champion and friend to the close of his life. He, in this year 1856, proposed to move in the Lower House of Convocation for an Address of sympathy to the Eastern bishops. It was also suggested at the same time that the English Church should place an Anglican bishop at Constantinople, who might befriend and instruct the bishops of the Armenian and other Christian Churches lying under the dominion of the Turk. The subject had been introduced to the notice of English Churchmen by a letter from the Rev. L. M. Hogg, whose attention had been called to it by the great influx of Englishmen into Constantinople at the time of the Crimean war. He saw plainly that the Turk would consent to anything the English might at that moment suggest; and writing on the 20th February, 1856, he says there is quite a providential opening "for encouraging friendly intercourse with the Greek and Armenian prelates and clergy, and [for] the endeavour to present Christianity, through our own Church system, favourably to the Turkish eye." The letter suggests names of those who would be suitable for such a post as that of an episcopal missionary,—Archdeacon Grant, Professor Browne, and the Bishop of

Glasgow, Dr. Trower. Mr. Hogg draws a sketch of the political bearings of the moment, and urges Professor Browne to obtain an Address from Convocation to the Greek bishops, with special assurances as to the non-aggressive attitude taken by the English Church. This Address he hoped bishops present at the consecration of the new English church at Constantinople would present to the Greek bishops at that time.

This scheme for an out-post Bishop at Constantinople came to nothing, as might have been expected ; we could not in this way occupy the point of connection between East and West, even in matters ecclesiastical, without arousing suspicions, jealousies, and the very evils we should most desire to avoid : such an appointment would have had against it the open or covert hostility of every state in Europe ; and where the " Sacred Places " controversy had so lately raged, an Anglican bishop could never have been regarded as other than an interloper. The Greeks might perhaps have tried to play him off against the Romans, as a part of that game of diplomacy which has gone on for ages ; but the complications and risks would have far exceeded the benefits arising from the scheme. So it was dropped, and the occasion allowed to pass ; yet it was not without value, in creating a more friendly feeling between the Eastern Churches and the English.

Early in the following year Mr. Browne was called away from these larger questions to matters nearer home. He had to work his way through a most complicated negotiation. Everyone in the diocese of Exeter, from the Bishop downward, was anxious that he should be brought up to the cathedral city, instead of being left far off at Kenwyn. And the Bishop had a large scheme on hand, by which the valuable living of Heavitree, with a canonry

residentiary in Exeter Cathedral and perhaps the Archdeaconry of Exeter, should be conferred on him, on condition that he left Cambridge and became Principal of a theological college to be founded under the Bishop's wing at Exeter. Mr. Browne naturally would not abandon his more important post at Cambridge for a local theological college, which must, at first at least, have been a venture. The archdeaconry was in the gift of the Bishop of Exeter; the canons residentiary are co-opted out of the body of prebendaries (the latter having all been appointed by the Bishop), and the valuable vicarage of Heavitree was also in the gift of the Chapter, which was very anxious to elect Mr. Browne into their body. Everything was held in suspense by the Bishop's scheme; and the following letter from Dean Lowe shews how the Chapter regarded the matter:—

“DEANERY, EXETER, *February 16th*, 1857.

“MY DEAR BROWNE,—I most deeply regret, and I am sure that every member of our Chapter will regret as deeply as I do, the determination of the Bishop of Exeter to make, as far as in him lies, your more intimate connexion with our body dependent on your acceptance of the headship of his projected theological college—a condition which I am sure you did right in promptly rejecting, and which I hardly imagine he could seriously think you would accept. But at the same time, I cannot but express my strong conviction that however great the present disappointment may be to us, it will end in a greater disappointment to his Lordship, and will tend to your ultimate advantage. By the death of poor Atherley, Heavitree is now vacant; our last accounts of Archdeacon M. Stevens are somewhat better; and under these circumstances, I feel a pardonable curiosity to see how the Bishop will play his game, and what will be his first move. Nothing, I presume, that has yet occurred will interfere with your discharge of the office of Substitute in our Cathedral, at least during the present year; but, should anything of the kind turn up, we shall all of us be most

anxious to consult your wishes, and to make any practicable arrangement to suit your convenience. For the kind expressions of your friendship and regard towards me, I am most unfeignedly and deeply grateful ; and believing, as I do, that you are eminently qualified, by your deep learning, your sound judgment, and your exemplary moderation and candour, to adorn the highest offices in the Church, whatever conduces to your happiness and honour will be to me a cause of rejoicing.

“ Believe me ever, my dear Browne,

“ Yours most truly,

“ THOS. HILL LOWE.”

Letters from old Mr. Barnes, the much respected Chapter Clerk of Exeter, shew rather more clearly what the scheme was. It was proposed to endow the archdeaconry of Exeter with the living of Heavitree and a canonry ; and the Bishop's aim was to get Mr. Browne to accept the living and canonry from the Dean and Chapter ; then, on the next vacancy to the Archdeaconry, he would appoint him to that also ; lastly, by means of Professor Browne's popularity, he hoped to get Heavitree and the canonry permanently attached to the archdeaconry,—so transferring this valuable patronage to himself. The scheme, however, hung fire, because of the Bishop's wish to secure Mr. Browne as Head of his projected College. Finding, however, that he could not shake the Professor, he reluctantly gave way ; and thus all was made smooth for the Chapter. Chancellor Martin, in a letter dated February 22nd, 1857, says :—

“ I cannot resist my desire to write you a line to express my great pleasure at understanding that the Bishop has relented on the subject of the theological college, and my most earnest hope that you will not reject us, if the archdeaconry, the stall, and the living of Heavitree should be offered to you together. For the Chapter, for the City of Exeter, for Heavitree and the archdeaconry, and for the diocese, I really think the arrangement would be a most

valuable gain, without precluding any future interests of your own. . . . Has Mrs. Harold Browne ever seen the Vicarage at Heavitree, with its lawn and garden and most convenient connexion with the church? I remember how well off you were in that respect at Kenwyn. But Heavitree is a very nice and most convenient clergyman's residence ; and on a most healthy gravel soil and elevation."

The moment it appeared clear to Professor Browne that the move to Heavitree would not oblige him to leave Cambridge, he consented. The income was larger, the position much more central, and, so far, nearer Cambridge ; he would be a member of the Cathedral Chapter, welcomed heartily by all, and within touch of the Bishop, with whose opinions he was in the main in harmony. At Kenwyn and Kea he had been obliged to have three curates ; and more or less under his eye had been no less than five distinct churches and six clergymen, with nine dayschools. As the *Cornwall Gazette* (of April 17th, 1857) says :—

"All looked up to him with reverence and affection ; for he was even less admired for his great talents and learning than loved for his childlike simplicity, his gentle spirit, his admirable discretion."

So that everyone turned to him for advice, for help, for consolation ; and his parish duties were almost more than he could bear : it was at Kenwyn that, as he said, he had "worked harder than ever he had in his life." Heavitree, the daughter-churches having been long severed from it, though a large parish, was yet fairly compact, and in many ways more desirable than Kenwyn. Then followed, as soon as possible, the resignation of Kenwyn, a general letter addressed to all his parishioners, and the preaching of two sermons which have been printed, on Easter Day, 1857. They can scarcely be described as "farewell sermons ;" for the morning sermon deals solely with the

topic of the day, and the afternoon discourse refers only in a quiet way to his departure ; there are no affecting appeals, no sorrowful leave-takings. He thinks it enough to bid them farewell by leaving with them the sense of the Presence of Christ.

His farewell letter is much more expansive than the sermons, and full of wise advice, though it does not profess any very strong regret :—

“ TO THE PARISHIONERS OF KENWYN AND KEA.

“ MY DEAR FRIENDS,—No doubt many of you will have heard that I am not likely long to continue Vicar of Kenwyn and Kea. I have felt for some time the great difficulty of attending to the duties of the joint parishes, so extensive and populous, and at so great a distance from Cambridge, whilst I have the important office which I hold in this University. I have long thought that the constant presence of the Vicar was very necessary in so large a sphere of labour. Hence, if nothing else had called me away, I had well nigh resolved to resign the living this summer. As it is, I have received a pressing invitation to a new post of duty, which, for a time at least, I may hold with my professorship at Cambridge ; and after much thought and anxious deliberation, I have consented to accept it. I trust that I have been guided rightly in this decision. My chief motive in leaving you has been a desire for your welfare. A Vicar who can devote all his time to you, and whose strength is equal to the task, will, I hope, be found to succeed me. May God’s blessing and the grace of His Holy Spirit rest on him and on you. I doubt if he will love you better or feel a deeper interest in your welfare than I have done, and still do. But he may easily labour amongst you with greater efficiency and success.

“ I have many amongst you endeared to me by ties of family as well as of pastoral relationship, and am not likely wholly to lose sight of you even in this world. Yet, at present, I shall be able to pass but very few days amongst you, and am glad of this opportunity to say but a few parting words.

“ Whatever may have been my infirmity and short-

comings in my ministry among you, I have striven, to the best of my power and by the grace of God, to teach you the true doctrine of Christ's Gospel and of the Church, whose minister I am. My great hope has been to inculcate, first purity, both of faith and practice, and next peace. There are many dangers in the present day to faith and practice and to peace. We have all seen the danger of straying to the right hand and to the left, and how extremes on the one side ever lead to extremes on the other. There cannot be such a time as the present, when all old truths seem to be undergoing a new shaking and sifting, without much and serious trial of every Christian's heart. Let me pray you to hold fast to the form of sound words which has been taught you, to shun controversies, to shun extreme parties, to seek peace and ensue it. Let the Church, which for centuries has held forth to your fathers and to you, be your home here. Let Holy Scripture and the blessed words of Christ's Gospel be your light. Let Christ Himself be the constant hope, the daily refuge of your souls. Let the grace of God's Holy Spirit be that which you seek, and pray for and trust to for help and guidance through life. And strive to keep before your eyes and hearts continually, in the midst of all that is changing here, the unchanging presence of the Father of our spirits, to which we are all hastening. He has promised eyes to the blind, wisdom to the foolish, strength to the weak, guidance to the wandering; and if we rest upon His promise, and strive to follow His guiding, we may be sure that at last we shall be led safely to His home.

"Brethren, that the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of His Spirit may be with you and your children for ever, is the earnest prayer of

"Your affectionate and faithful servant in Christ,

"E. HAROLD BROWNE.

"CAMBRIDGE, *April 1st*, 1857."

It was of this letter that the Professor, writing soon after this time, says :—

"I had an unexpected compliment paid me last night. Mr. Alex. Paull met a party of dissenters yesterday with Mr. Gostich, the Wesleyan minister, at the head of them.

They talked about me. Mr. Gostich said he had a copy of my parting address, which he would not part with for £50, as it was quite apostolical ; and after a further conversation among 'our dissenting brethren' about me, they concluded by drinking my health."

Twice, after this time, we have pleasant notices which shew how the Bishop cherished the memory of his Kenwyn friends. In October 1876 he was at Truro, and preached in Kenwyn Church to a full congregation a perfectly simple and earnest sermon on one word, "Lost" (from St. Luke xv. 4). After graphically describing the sad state of a lost sheep, a lost dog, a lost child, a lost soul, he ended the sermon with the following touching reference to the old days:—

"It is nearly twenty years since I lived here among you as the pastor of this parish, where by God's grace I tried to seek out lost souls. Many have gone to their rest since that time ; many have grown up to manhood who then were infants ; many middle aged persons have grown old. I ask you all to think of your souls, and see how it has fared with them during those twenty years since we met here and parted. Have you found Jesus Christ, and has He found you ? If you were lost on the mountains, has He come and taken you on His shoulders and carried you to His flock and sheepfold ? have you stayed with Him ? are you still His ? Or have you gone wandering away again ? If so, then I ask you to-day, once more coming among you, no longer as your pastor, but as one who once was, and who sees among you many familiar faces,—I ask you to remember that you are free to repent and return to Jesus Christ once more. Let past falls, past wanderings, past losings of yourselves, make you more watchful, more careful, more prayerful, and more determined never to give up prayer and communion with God, frequenting His Holy House, receiving His Holy Sacrament, that so you may be strengthened and fed by Christ, and kept in the arms of His mercy, and at last brought to His home in Heaven, where there will be joy in the presence of the angels of God over one who was lost and is found."

And again, on a greater occasion, when as Bishop of Winchester he took part in the consecration of Truro Cathedral in October 1887, we learn how warmly his heart clung to his old Kenwyn friends. The allusion to the ritual used is very natural and characteristic. He was large-minded enough to acquiesce in things indifferent, where they did not mean some doctrine which he knew to be wrong ; in which case they ceased to be indifferent to him.

“ . . . The services were gorgeous and elaborate, the music very good. . . . The ritual was higher than I am used to ; but I feel no repugnance to it, if it does not offend the laity. The congregations and meetings were crowded, and very reverent. . . . At eight the Mayor had a very large reception, where we met hosts of late parishioners and friends. . . . My old friends received me very warmly, and listened most kindly to what I had to say. It was touching and trying. . . . Yesterday we drove over to Enys', and found Mrs. Enys somewhat aged, but very kind and warm in memories of old times. Tom Philpotts and his wife and a daughter of Henry Philpotts dined with us yesterday. T. P. and I were at Eton together sixty-four years ago. He is nearly eighty-one. I shall soon be seventy-seven if I live. . . . ”

With these touching utterances, which shew us the venerable Bishop clinging to old friends and revisiting with pleasure scenes of former activity, we may well bid farewell to the seven years of his life at Kenwyn, and turn our eyes to the new work before him. The change to Exeter was clearly intended, by Bishop, Dean, and Chapter alike, to wean him from Cambridge, and to settle him down in a life of permanent usefulness in Devonshire. The forces of the life he had led and of the work he had done were, however, far too strong to allow his career to be thus diverted. By the time a man has reached the age of forty-six, if there is anything in him he has usually made his groove in the world, and

cannot well be dislodged from it. It was eminently so with Professor Browne. The world recked little of his valuable labours at Kenwyn and Heavitree; men knew him as one who had written the book on the Articles at Lampeter, and had made his mark as a theological and linguistic authority at Cambridge, rather than as the devoted parish priest. As some Cardinals, for one reason or another, become "Papabili" early in their career, so Mr. Browne had been long marked out, both among his friends and generally, for a bishopric; and his work at Exeter, important as it was, became quite secondary to that he was carrying out at Cambridge.

Professor Browne was instituted to Heavitree on May 9th, 1857, and 'read himself in' the following day; he was installed as Canon on December 28th in the same year. His stay at Heavitree was very short; he preached his farewell sermon there on January 3rd, 1858. The present Vicar of Heavitree, the Rev. Sackville H. Berkeley, says:—

"He first attempted any organisation of the parish in the shape of districts for regular visitation, etc.; and had so great a power of attracting people to a personal attachment to himself that his departure after only about six months' residence in the parish was lamented as if it had been as many years."

It must have been with real pleasure and even pride that Mr. Browne remembered, as he went about his parish work at Heavitree, that here one of his chief Church-heroes and models, Richard Hooker, was said to have been born into the world.

It was during the life at Heavitree that the writer of this Memoir first enjoyed the privilege of spending a couple of days under his roof, and of seeing something of the happy domestic life and halcyon days of peace which made his home delightful, wherever it might be. I

remember that at breakfast the question as to the MS. readings of the well-known passage 1 Tim. iii. 16, "God was manifest in the flesh," came up, and how much I was struck by the promptness with which, after we had talked a bit about it, he withdrew to his library, and came back after a couple of minutes with a note of the MS. evidence for and against the accepted reading, with the value of it given, almost as if it had been a mathematical formula. It was this clearness and distinctness of vision which gave to all he said so much weight. Men felt that he was a safe guide, because he could look at both sides and weigh arguments and probabilities and strike a fair balance.

Mr. Browne had now severed his connection with Cornwall; this gave the Cornish clergy the opportunity, which they were only too glad to accept, of paying him a high compliment. He had, from the revival of Convocation, represented them as their Proctor in the Lower House, and he had been re-elected by them early in 1857. He now, however, felt bound to place himself unreservedly in their hands, offering to resign at once, if they considered it right. The clergy however, without the slightest hesitation, begged him to retain his post, for they were quite clear that they could not be better represented; and he accordingly continued to be their Proctor for some time after he had become a member of the Exeter Chapter.

And now followed a quiet time; it has been said of Bishop Harold Browne that his life at this time ran in septennial periods,—nearly seven at Lampeter, seven at Kenwyn, and seven as Canon of Exeter; and of these three successive epochs the last seems to have been the most tranquil. It was a time in which all looked up to him as an adviser, if not as a leader; the Chapter of Exeter regarded him as their strong man; his old friends appealed to him for help in various ways; frightened

clergy and others, thrown off their balance by "Essays and Reviews" and by the terrible Bishop of Natal, looked anxiously to see what answer he would make to these developments of the modern spirit of criticism; and lastly, the Bishop of Exeter seems to have never given up the hope that Mr. Browne would help his project for some better, or at least some more direct, system of teaching for candidates for Orders, and, immediately after his installation as Canon, addressed him a letter on the subject of theological learning and study in the English Church. Mr. Browne, while he felt as much as the Bishop did the need for far more careful training of young men destined for the sacred profession, could not forget that at Cambridge he had their education already much in his hands; and he certainly had no wish at all to give them that narrowing type of seminary teaching which is almost inevitable in a theological college.

Writing on December 29th, 1857, the Bishop says:—

"I consider Chapters as a very important part of our ecclesiastical system; but in order that they should perform their functions usefully, they ought to be composed of highly qualified members. Theological attainments, where they can be found, as in you they are found, in a high degree and of a most sound and truly catholic character, are such a qualification as ought to *command* a place in the Chapter with which their possessor is connected. Our Church particularly *needs* a higher theological tone in her clergy, and is unhappily very deficient in proper seminaries. She depends at present altogether on the exertions of a few *individuals* like yourself. This ought not to be. My anxiety is to supply, as far as my opportunities shall enable me, this great deficiency in the diocese of Exeter. Before you return to Cambridge I hope you will gratify me with a visit. I am very desirous of talking with you on this, and on other matters."

And, three years later, a letter from Bishop Philpott shows that he was still anxious on this subject, and had

caught something of the despondent tone affected by the Episcopate when the Universities ceased to be closed against all except members of the Church of England. This act of common sense and justice had thrown the clergy into a kind of paroxysm of alarm. A generation has passed since that day, and all who have really known the Universities then and now will confess that the Christian faith and practice are really stronger in them now than in the old protected days.

It is interesting to notice that Mr. Browne was appealed to by others also to help in the matter of theological colleges. In November 1858 he received a letter from Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford, asking him whether he could recommend a fit person to be head of the new institution at Cuddesdon. The Bishop of Oxford does not invite him to take the post, though he probably had him in his mind's eye when he described the sort of man he wanted:—

“I want,” he writes, “a gentleman, a theologian, a man who will influence the young men, and one who is a thoroughly sound English Churchman, and who will discourage all party symbols and excesses and puerilities in religion.”

Many lesser matters also occupied Mr. Browne's attention at this time. His old and well-loved friend, Matthew B. Hale, was induced to accept the semi-missionary bishopric of Perth in Western Australia. It is on record of him that he struggled hard to escape from the necessity of having to adopt the style and title of “My Lord,” holding that as a colonial bishop he would be better without it. The legal authorities, however, held that he must accept the courtesy-title, and he had to yield. The moment he had made up his mind to accept the bishopric he wrote to Mr. Browne, to beg of him two favours; first, to preach

the sermon at his consecration on St. James's Day, 1857 ; and secondly to consent to act as his commissary in England—an office which he cheerfully undertook, although it involved a large amount of dull business-work. He did it till he was promoted to Ely, and rendered "services," says the Bishop, "of infinite value to me, and I am quite aware that they were extremely troublesome to him."

These years were not altogether devoid of literary results. They saw the publication of a sermon entitled "Holy Ground," preached in Waltham Abbey Church on the eight hundredth anniversary of the foundation of that Abbey ; and of another discourse preached at Aylesbury on behalf of the Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel and for Promoting Christian Knowledge, both of them in 1860. Also a brief defence of the war in New Zealand in the days when his brother, Sir Thomas Gore Browne, was Governor ; this appeared at the end of the year 1860 or early in 1861. The chief work of this time was a volume of seven sermons, all preached before the University of Cambridge, two of them in 1855 and the rest in 1859. These are admirable discourses, very varied in subject and treatment. His tone of mind, though he hardly appreciated the liberal theologians, was always kindly and fair ; if he was a controversialist at any time, his weapons were neither barbed nor poisoned. He was now approaching a very critical period in the history of English religious thought ; if he was not swept along with the current of daring speculation and enquiry, at any rate he was not swept off his legs by the panic which possessed the souls of less learned Churchmen.

But before we enter on the stirring times in which bitter controversy raged around "Essays and Reviews" and Bishop Colenso, we must devote a little time to an episode

of these peaceful years, and describe the efforts made in vain to secure for Canon Browne the Deanery of Exeter, now vacant by the death of Dr. Lowe. Mr. Browne published a friendly and sympathetic memoir of the late Dean in the *Guardian*; he does not seem to have been aware of the efforts then being made by his friends to get him the Deanery. Lord Palmerston was at that time Prime Minister; and the Exeter people, from the Bishop downward, were horribly afraid lest some Low Churchman, as seemed only too probable, or, more alarming still, some Liberal Churchman, should be appointed. Their wishes and fears alike led them to do their utmost to get it for the Norrisian Professor. The scheme in the mind of the Bishop of Exeter seems to have been to have Canon Browne in the Deanery as a first step towards the fulfilment of his wish for a Cornish Assistant Bishop. Had Mr. Browne's friends been successful, instead of being Bishop of Ely and Winchester he probably would have ended his life among his Cornish friends and kinsfolk. Archdeacon Downall did his very best. He was Chaplain to the Duke of Bedford, deemed omnipotent among the Whigs of that day, and writes as follows to his patron in February 1861 :—

“I do not think that, search the country through, there could be found a safer, more moderate, more valuable person, as a gentleman, a scholar, a divine, than Canon Browne; nor [one] more free from all Church party extravagances, or a more truly devoted Christian man.”

But he piped in vain; the Deanery was never offered to Mr. Browne.

At this time he also printed a thin volume of Sermons entitled “Messiah as Foretold and Expected; A Course of Sermons on the Prophecies of the Messiah, as interpreted by the Jews before the coming of Christ.” The publication was welcomed cordially by persons of

many different shades of opinion, and pointed to some reaction against the utterances of the more extreme High Church writers. The Professor shews how the sacrificial theory of the Christian revelation, much insisted on from opposite sides, first by the "Evangelical" school, and then, in connexion with the Holy Communion, by the later Anglicans, came from the Jews; how Jewish terms were commonly used by Christians, till metaphorical expressions came to be treated as statements of fact; and how the Jewish doctrines of sacrifice and atonement had thrown a deep shadow over the progress of Christianity. It may be said with some truth that these Sermons were the beginning of what inevitably follows when a healthy movement passes into the hands of enthusiastic partisans who push principles beyond their fair development, and try to keep their party moving by unwise advances. Professor Browne's Sermons are learned and sober-minded, nowhere reactionary or extreme in either language or thought. It was a pity that the "Essayists and Reviewers" and Bishop Colenso, who in their earlier days had mostly been warm High Churchmen, failed to emulate his moderation of thought and word. An eloquent writer dealing with these Sermons of his, ends by begging the author to complete the cycle of his theological plan by publishing a second course of sermons, on "The Royalty and Coming Kingdom of Christ;"—that is, on the *opus consummatum* of the Incarnation,—so as to bring before men's eyes "not the cross only, but the throne," not the "suffering of Christ" only, but, much more, "the glory that should follow." It is certain that this advice was in full accord with his mind, and would have rounded off his scheme of theology. Years after, when the completion of the Great Screen of Winchester Cathedral was under discussion, and his formal opinion was asked by the Dean as

to placing a majestic figure of the Lord in Glory on the central cross, amidst a great company of adoring and rejoicing saints, the aged Bishop expressed himself as decidedly favourable to the proposal, because he not only thought it artistically superior to any other treatment, but still more because he deemed it a more true representation of the complete work of redemption and of the final triumph of the Cross.

CHAPTER II.

THE TROUBLES IN THE CHURCH : "ESSAYS AND REVIEWS;" BISHOP COLENSO.

WE approach a dark moment in the history of the English Church. Men lost their balance ; once more were heard the voices of those who "woke from sleep and shouted '*-namus.*'" Few seemed even to pretend to preserve a judicial mind. Those who, like Professor Browne, endeavoured to treat the matters in dispute calmly, to be courteous to the disputants, and to uphold the truth by frank enquiry in the spirit of charity, were regarded with distrust, and often were abused more bitterly than the men who had caused the turmoil.

We are come to the days of "Essays and Reviews," and to the "Commentary on the Romans" and the "Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined," with which the Bishop of Natal startled the tranquil Church. Here was a man who, instead of confining himself to what are accounted proper missionary labours, not only brought historical criticism to bear, with more zeal than discretion, on the ancient fabric of the Pentateuch, but also was led, by the references in the Gospels to Moses and the children of Israel, to speculate on questions about the relation of the divine and human natures in the Person of our Lord, and of the possible limitation of His knowledge.

Thanks to the clear sketch of this period in the pages

of Archbishop Tait's Life, our task is vastly lightened. It would be wearisome to retrace the whole story of these half-forgotten matters, which in their day blazed and exploded with volcanic energy. We have only to endeavour to make clear the position taken up by Harold Browne. Though he was perhaps one of the most orthodox and dogmatic of English Churchmen, to whom the strife was most painful,—for the innovators seemed to him hasty, violent, and theologically unsound,—he never was betrayed into violent language. He tried always to distinguish between the statements he so much disliked and the side-issues on which the orthodox party wished to fight; he deprecated the vehemence of certain zealous spirits who, in their eagerness to condemn error, were prepared to limit the English Church to a narrow platform, unworthy of the catholic breadth of her true position. Thus, he never hesitated, in the case of Bishop Temple, to stand by one with whom, theologically, he was not in sympathy, when the newly-made Bishop was attacked with ignorant outcry. Still more was this judicial temper visible when Bishop Colenso, against whose writings, as we shall see, he testified with vigour, was being dealt with so as to introduce new and dangerous precedents into the constitution of the English Church. The great weight of his known orthodoxy and character stood between the erring Bishop and his opponents, and he helped effectually to arrest proceedings which were being pushed forward with feverish zeal. It was clear to him that here were men who, to secure their adversary's condemnation, were for loosening, even for breaking, the ties which connect the Church in the Colonies with the See of Canterbury.

It had become plain to thinking minds that the action and reaction of parties within the Church of England had

reached a point at which there was no standing still. The High Church movement, strong in the enthusiastic support of the younger clergy, had far outstripped the slow, cautious, and simple Churchmanship of the bulk of lay people in England. The average Churchman, suspicious of high ideals, and penetrated with a hereditary fear of Romanism, looked with the gravest anxiety on the new ideals placed before him. To him, the gospel in its primitive simplicity was enough; the Bible was sacred in the English version; his leaning towards Puritanism was daily shocked by men who introduced elaborate ritual, and seemed to preach a gospel which mingled the world as it is with the Church of Christ, pleasing alike the light votaries of London society and the hard-pressed dwellers in the dark places of our cities. The Evangelical school had its strength in the middle classes of England, and could not appreciate a movement which seemed to attract alike the frivolous and the downtrodden. The older school had not set much store by learning; the votaries of the newer opinions prided themselves on their University culture, on their sympathy with the progress of Art, on their serious study of patristic literature. It is clear that the one company was essentially conservative, suspicious of change and innovation; while in the other were plenty of eager spirits, greedy of novelties and ready to move in any direction towards which freedom from prejudice, a bold disdain of old convention, the noble curiosity which prompts to venturesome advance, might lead their willing feet. After a while, some of the most distinguished of the party fled to the shelter of Rome, guided partly by devotion to a high ideal of the Church, partly by a feeling akin to despair in the presence of modern criticism. For side by side with these two well-defined parties had grown up a third company, touched

with the spirit of the time, conscious that modern study had thrown new light on many of the old bases of faith, eager to "prove all things," and to assert the paramount sanctity of Truth. Enquiry was in the air.

Among the more active-minded of the High Churchmen was a knot of men who were not afraid to court enquiry, to face difficulties fairly, to speak frankly on matters which filled others only with alarm. The strength of the Broad Church movement, which has never wished to be a party, is largely drawn from men who first were High Churchmen. Between those who pressed on Romewards, and those of the coming school, who longed to treat religious problems in a liberal spirit, stood, and still stand, the great bulk of the High Church party, as immovable as their Low Church brethren, and sometimes joining hands with them in the sad business of repression. Many prominent members of the liberal school had carried their earlier speculations on authority, whether of the Bible or of the Church, on the spiritual life of the Church, and on the presence of Christ, to a point which seemed to their old friends alarming and dangerous. More and more was the new school convinced that the task of searching into the truth is laid on us all. Naturally, they had to swim against a swirling tide of alarm and dislike; the denunciations of scared ignorance, the remonstrances of official Churchmanship, roused in them, only too readily, the natural passions of anger and contempt. For it is so much easier to disapprove than to disprove; for the latter one must know, for the former one need only feel. The unhappy result of this irritation appears in the bitter and scornful tone in which the liberal theologians wrote. By faults of manner, and a too obvious willingness to startle their opponents, they threw away their case. In their unguarded, sometimes unwarranted, assaults on established ideas they

only remembered that they would fain be the champions of liberty of discussion.

The two men of this school who were the most prominent at this time were eager for truth, and willing to sacrifice themselves for it: it is hard not to sympathise with them, though we feel that their enthusiasm, and the opposition they encountered, threw them off their balance and marred their work. Emancipators must give and take wild blows. It seemed to them that truth was being lost behind screens and barriers, and, in the assault on these, it looked as if they were attacking the truth which lies behind. One has to be careful to give them credit for their high aims, and at the same time to make allowance for the terror they aroused. No party comes out of the strife with honours unblemished; the general verdict, after thirty years, is that both sides made blunders in the conflict. We have re-learnt the priceless lesson that our Church has room within her walls for men of very different types; for a large liberty of opinion; for a wise freedom in usages. We have learnt, too, how to deal charitably with our neighbour's views, and to aim at adapting the Church to the necessities of successive ages. Bishop Harold Browne was among the most important of the contributors to this happy result. His share in the controversies of the period was always marked by genuine, true Christian feeling, and by a desire for fairness of treatment as beautiful as rare in those angry days.

I have ventured to select his successor at Lampeter, Mr. Rowland Williams, as the representative of the temper of mind and thought which found expression in "Essays and Reviews"; and the other name can be no other than that of Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, around whom raged a wild strife of almost unequalled bitterness. The assailants of established views seemed at times quite as much pre-

judiced on the side of novelty as their antagonists were for the old ways. If some of the combatants were convinced that orthodoxy, without either knowledge or charity, was a sufficient panoply, others were ready to believe that to be orthodox was simply to be wrong, and were at no pains to hide their scorn for antagonists who did not understand the subjects on which they dogmatised. A bold face often bears down a modest spirit.

"Essays and Reviews," which in its day created so great an excitement in the religious world, appeared early in 1860. The seven contributors joined in an Advertisement, in which they laid it down that, while all the contributors had a common aim, "to encourage the free handling of religious topics in a becoming spirit of truth," each was to be held responsible for his own Essay only. The "common aim" was to arouse a spirit of enquiry, and to deem no matter too sacred for criticism. It was rather hard for them to avoid being regarded as responsible for one another's statements; for they were at one in wishing to arouse men's minds—some more, some less; all agreed to eschew conventional views on even the most essential points. No wonder that an attempt was presently made to fasten the odium of certain crude speculations found in one or two of the Essays on the backs of all the members of the company. The mass of the clergy, frightened and unconvinced, soon began to clamour for the condemnation of the "*Septem contra Christum*," as a scornful opponent called them, parodying *Æschylus*; and the conduct of the attack was not a whit less violent, in its way, than had been the conduct of the vulgar mob at St. George's-in-the-East, or at St. Barnabas', Pimlico. They used language naïvely echoed by Canon Perry, when he writes that the volume was "not so much a danger to the faith, as a grievous offence on the part of the authors;" they called

on the seven to resign their positions in the Church, and to brand themselves as traitors ; they called on Convocation to condemn them and the book. A swarm of more or less ephemeral replies issued from the Press ; some even of the most thoughtful and liberal of the bishops were very severe on the Essayists. The learned Bishop of St. David's condemned them in no measured terms ; the Bishop of Oxford, S. Wilberforce, led the assault in the Upper House of Convocation ; Bishop Hampden, to the astonishment of those who had fought against his election as Bishop of Hereford, clamoured for the prosecution of the writers : the general feeling was, as Canon Perry phrases it, that they were " traitors to be punished rather than fair disputants to be answered." True, the manner of the writers was as unfortunate as their matter was alarming ; yet nothing can justify the blind fury with which they were attacked, and the studied insults heaped on them.

The Houses of Convocation showed far more moderation of tone and more sense of the proprieties of religious controversy than was pleasing to the crowd. The Upper House replied with gravity and good sense to an Address signed by ten thousand clergymen, reserving judgment, while it regretted the publication of the volume. In the Lower House, moved by Archdeacon Denison, a " gravamen " was drawn up and presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, praying for a committee to formulate a case against the volume. This was agreed to by the Upper House ; a committee of the Lower House was accordingly appointed, and Archdeacon Denison became chairman of it.

In spite of the activity of the Archdeacon, who drew up an analysis of the volume, in order to show the evil that was in it, and especially to make, if he could, the

several authors responsible for the statements of each, the committee did nothing. Suits had been instituted against two of the writers in the Arches Court, and till these were settled Convocation thought it wiser not to intervene. It was not till June 1861 that the two Houses were free to condemn the volume, and did so. The case before the Court lingered on, with an appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; it was not till February 8th, 1864, that that body, while refusing to pronounce any opinion on the design and general tendency of the "Essays," declared that no technical contradiction of the Thirty-Nine Articles or of the formularies of the Church of England had been proved, and so, reversing the judgment of the Court below, reinstated the two writers in their benefices.

Professor Browne's share in this acute controversy was straightforward and simple. He met the negative tendencies of the book with a well-reasoned and temperate statement of the orthodox views; and here his stores of learning and fairness of mind gave him a great advantage. He spoke of the subject in a genial and even friendly spirit. At the time of the highest excitement, in December 1861, his eldest son, Harold, who was then at school at Rugby under Dr. Temple, won a Divinity prize; and Professor Browne, writing to a friend, says :—

"Harold got the second Divinity prize. Divinity at Rugby does not of necessity = heresy, for whoever examined him, I *coached* him. By the way, did you ever hear the question put by an Oxford to a Cambridge man, 'I say, is not one of your "*pokers*" a great *coach*?' Can you translate it?"

Soon after this incident he addressed a charming letter on the controversy to Canon Cook of Exeter, with whom he was on intimate terms of friendship, literary and

personal. The Canon had been attacked, and charged with too great liberalism in dealing with the volume ; and Professor Browne writes :—

“ Such censure cannot be of the slightest consequence to yourself, but it is a sign of most evil omen to the Church, when those who profess to be her champions imagine that the cause of truth is promoted by bitterness of tone and arbitrary dogmatism.”

And yet he felt acutely the faults of the Essayists, and bitterly deplored their tone and conclusions. He was prepared to do all in his power to counteract the tendency of the volume, and to express, with convincing argument and learning, his disagreement with the authors. His first contribution to the controversy took the somewhat cumbrous form of a course of sermons preached in the University Pulpit, and afterwards published in a thin volume. In a letter to a friend (dated May 16th, 1862) he describes his object.

“ I am glad you approve of my sermons on the Messianic prophecies. They receive the approbation of your Bishop and of many scholars and divines ; but I doubt if they will circulate greatly, simply because they are *sermons*. I am surprised to hear that you think the *subject* not one of general interest. I should have thought it at all times a subject of universal and deep interest : and at this moment the fierce assaults of the Essayists on the Prophecies, their denial of the existence of prediction at all in the Old Testament, and especially of predictions of Messiah, ought to make it a subject of special importance. In short, if Bunsen and Rowland Williams be right, that there is no such thing as predictive prophecy, I do not see on what principle Christianity can be defended. It was from this feeling that I wrote and preached, viz., that this was now the point in dispute between believers and unbelievers.”

At the time that Professor Browne penned these somewhat despondent words, he was overwhelmed with sorrow ;

for he had just lost a little babe, taken from them in May 1862, and was full of anxiety for the safety of his beloved wife.

A few months after the publication of "Essays and Reviews" we find an invitation addressed to Professor Browne from Dr. Thomson (then Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, afterwards Archbishop of York), asking him to write the essay on Inspiration in a volume to be entitled "Aids to Faith." Professor Browne, although his hands were very full of University work, did not decline the proffered task and honour. He was pleased with the scheme, and with the views of Dr. Thomson; he also wished to present the current theory as to Inspiration in a calm and moderate manner; he therefore accepted the call, and set himself to the difficult task of writing a clear statement on the subject.

In "Essays and Reviews," the two papers which had appeared to cut most deeply into the body of orthodox theology were that on Miracles, by Mr. Baden Powell, and that by Mr. Jowett on the difficulties and discrepancies of Scripture. Against Mr. Baden Powell, Mr. Mansel wrote an ingenious if unconvincing Essay on Miracles; and, in defence of Scripture, Mr. Harold Browne was pitted against the other Essayist. He defines the objects of "Aids to Faith" to be—

"to aid weak faith, to help doubting and distressed minds. Anything like strong dogmatic statements would only repel such. We were not fighting against the heresies and infidelity of 'Essays and Reviews,' but trying to help those who were puzzled, and the like of them."

He adds :—

"I was asked in the middle of July to write it by the 1st of September (1862). I did so in the midst of much other labour, and felt much dissatisfied with it, not as

regards its principles, but its mode of working out its purpose. But that purpose was to prove to doubting minds that, whatever difficulties might occur to them as to degrees and modes of Inspiration, and many other incidental questions, still there was abundant proof of a special miraculous and infallible Inspiration of Holy Scripture. This is enough to prove that Holy Scripture is an infallible depository of religious truth. Everything else is but secondary. I had no call to define dogmatically; but if it had been otherwise, I am much disposed to think that in the present state of things, when the Church has never defined the nature of Inspiration and the Scripture speaks but generally on it, he must be a very rash man who would venture to lay down definite rules, and to excommunicate those who will not abide by them."

Modest and unambitious words these, which while they mark the moderate tendencies of his mind, explain also why the essay fails to solve the very intricate problems with which it deals. For he aimed not so much at a new or scientific theory of inspiration, as at such arguments as might reassure anxious souls, disquieted by the rough treatment of what they had hitherto been content to take on trust. It is very interesting to see in this same letter, written from Cambridge, a note of the theological characteristics of his surroundings.

"My belief is that this University has been preserved from danger of Romanism, and I trust also from danger of Rationalism, by the general prevalence amongst us of a liberal and forbearing spirit. We have not been wholly free from oscillation, but, on the whole, for the last thirty years we have been free from violent party spirits, and, in the main, sound in the faith of the Church of Christ, the Church of our Fathers."

Here we have a just statement of Professor Browne's own position in these stormy days. Oxford, with her acuteness of criticism, her active spirit of enquiry, was ever throwing out new theories of life and faith, setting in

motion one theological party after another, generating heat and motion, and taking the lead with all the ideas which have influenced thoughtful men in England during this present century ; her ablest sons have often heartened up the Church of England with fresh ideals and hopes of a noble future. On the other hand, the tendency of Cambridge teaching and thinking has been to draw men into a more placid middle course ; and while her great school of theology has far surpassed all Oxford efforts in everything that concerns solid learning and scholarship, it has fallen behind its rivals in stimulating power. Professor Harold Browne combined the learning and general power, the moderation and courteous charity, which one seems to feel and breathe as one passes through the streets of Cambridge, or sits a guest within the walls of her magnificent Colleges.

Mr. Browne's Essay on Inspiration, then, is addressed not to the free-thinker, or to the exponent of new theories, but to anxious and religious minds puzzled or frightened by these new views. He does not touch any prior question as to the existence of Inspiration. He first assumes that God, the Divine Spirit, has spoken to mortal man, and asks only, In what way ? with what limitations ? Is there an actual inbreathing of knowledge, a direct afflatus ? or has the Holy Spirit, by raising man, given him more sight and more insight ? Next, the Essay sketches the history of the subject, as shown in Jewish and Christian thought ; it recognises no Divine message save in the Bible. It then deals briefly with certain views on the subject : first, with that propounded by S. T. Coleridge, and developed by Mr. Maurice ; here Mr. Browne shows some suspicion as to the view that poets and artists are in a degree inspired, and seems inclined to limit the function of inspiration to what is contained in that phrase of a Collect

which prays that "by God's Holy Spirit we may think those things that be good"; a kind of moral guidance into all truths bearing on the conduct of life. Mr. Morell's "Philosophy of Religion" is next passed under review. Then, as becomes a Cambridge thinker, he treats of Paley's bold argument, assuming nothing, and building up the faith on foundations which would be accepted by unbelievers, with a characteristic warning that "definite theories of Inspiration are doubtful and dangerous"; there is a human element and a Divine element,—who shall define their exact relations? In fine, he is content to sum it up in this: "Granted a God, then Miracle is not merely possible, but probable; and Inspiration may be classed among God's miracles of mercy towards mankind."

Such an essay might, from its devoutness and clearness, appease many a doubt in pious souls; it did not aim at advancing the theory of the subject, or at converting the unbeliever. We miss the living interest in the subject displayed, some years before, by Dr. Pusey, when he speaks of the way in which St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans was written. "St. Paul," he says, "before he wrote must have frequently taught and written on the great point of doctrine, not as a mere machine, but as one whose understanding was enlightened; and then, with this illumination of the soul upon him, summed up his inspired thoughts in the letter to his converts." Yet Mr. Browne was not so narrow as his great contemporary, who, when suspected of German theological leanings, in 1828, wrote that he did "not essentially differ from those who regard it (Inspiration) as dictation."

The whole controversy is now a thing of the past. The two volumes, "Essays and Reviews" and "Aids to Faith," slumber peacefully side by side on many a theologian's shelves, and men have learnt to treat their Bibles with more discerning reverence, and to recognise, as Mr. Browne

desired that they should, the Divine wisdom contained in earthen vessels; nor do faithful Christians any longer shut their eyes to the evidences of human weakness, which are as little able to shake our faith in the Divine message as a soiled dress can hide the life within its folds; the one is as little essential as the other. For God ever speaks to man through man's imperfect nature.

Professor Browne's article in "Aids to Faith" was so temperate that to some keen-nosed Churchmen there seemed to be in it a whiff of dangerous tolerance. Bishop Thirlwall alludes to certain growls of dissatisfaction.

"I am grieved to learn that the moderation and candour which you showed in your contribution to the 'Aids to Faith' have exposed you to attack as ultra-liberal. . . . It is a sign of most evil omen to the Church when those who profess to be her champions imagine that the cause of truth is promoted by bitterness of tone and arbitrary dogmatism."

The angry feeling aroused by "Essays and Reviews" was still warm when a new alarm arose. When the history of the influence of the American and Colonial Churches on the Mother Church is written, it will be seen that the outburst of literary and theological zeal in Natal did more to ascertain and settle the relations of Colonial Dioceses to one another, to their metropolitans, and, above all, to the Patriarchal See of Canterbury, than to influence the general current of thought, or to secure any advance in theological study. That these shocks to established beliefs are wholesome in the end anyone will allow who understands the way in which the spirit of Christian faith tends to evaporate while the organism of a Church seems still to live. No faith is worth much which cannot stand attack. The Church may indeed be *semper eadem*; but

she is, and must be always, the same with a difference. She must adapt her framework, methods of action, points of view, insistence on doctrine, now to one phase of the world's growth, now to another. At the time of Bishop Colenso's appearance on the scene, the receptive capacity of Churchmen had been very seriously taxed; and he unfortunately mixed much that was crude with much that was shrewd. Like the Essayists, he showed more anger against conventional theology than enthusiasm for the Gospel. He also used great boldness of enquiry without a corresponding training in the principles of theological controversy, or the laws of evidence, or the details of linguistic knowledge.

The position taken up by Professor Browne was twofold and interesting. The Colenso excitement began while he was still Norrisian Professor; and he grappled at once with what appeared to him to be the Bishop's erroneous opinions as to the credibility of the early books of the Old Testament; and, incidentally, as to the doctrine of Our Lord's Divine Person and knowledge. But before the controversy had advanced very far, Mr. Browne was made Bishop of Ely, and this synchronised with the constitutional development of the strife in South Africa. The startled world of religious people now saw that the champion who had contended so well with the pen against the Bishop of Natal's opinions now seemed anxious to protect him in the Upper House of Convocation. In the desire to vindicate orthodoxy Convocation overlooked the other side of the struggle; only a few cooler heads hesitated to make the English Church ratify all the acts of the Bishop of Cape Town. The whole controversy tended to help forward the deliverance of Colonial Churches from State establishment and interference; it also seemed not unlikely to weaken the direct relation between the Colonial

Bishops and the mother See of Canterbury. A man so jealous for the Anglican Church and the authority of the home Episcopate as Harold Browne was could not but look with disfavour on the bold steps taken at Cape Town.

When in 1853 Bishop Gray had selected Mr. Colenso for the bishopric of Natal, he rejoiced greatly in his choice, seeing the daily growth of the Christian faith in Natal. Colenso, for several years, did earnest and enlightened work in his diocese. No man has ever seen more clearly the importance of the Church's influence among the natives. He was the disinterested friend and champion of the black race. He founded stations, in which the natives were encouraged to settle under the protection of the missionaries ; he worked hard at the Zulu language, and laid the foundations of a South African literature by creating a Zulu dictionary, being eager to reach the hearts of his black flock through their own language ; he endeavoured to adapt the services of the English Church to the rudimentary state of belief and knowledge in which even the most advanced of his native converts must long remain. But ere long Bishop Gray began to take alarm. Some of the Bishop of Natal's English helpers proved ill-fitted for the work ; some of his changes in the Liturgy were bold, and might be dangerous ; at any rate, they were introduced on his sole authority ; in some respects he seemed too ready to comply (as in the case of polygamist converts) with native prejudices. In a letter which Bishop Gray wrote in 1856, expressing his anxiety on the points mentioned above, he ends by saying that " if he will only learn caution and deliberation this will do no harm. His fine, generous, and noble character will triumph over all difficulties."

This very frankness and earnestness, coupled with a

fearless love of truth, and a desire to present Christianity in the simplest and most intelligible manner to the native converts, carried Bishop Colenso forward with dangerous rapidity. Early in 1861, Bishop Gray gives voice to his anxieties, which were not without foundation.

"The Bishop of Natal," he says, "is a very wilful, head-strong man, and loose, I fear, in his opinions on vital points. We shall have," he adds, "to fight for revelation, inspiration, the atonement, and every great truth of Christianity before long."

Before many months had passed the Bishop of Natal justified some of these forebodings by publishing a new translation, with commentary, of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; and the summer of 1862 saw the beginnings of the work which created so great a stir in the Church at home and in South Africa—the first part of "The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined." This was followed in January 1863 by the second part of the work, in which the Bishop unsparingly criticises the sacred narrative. The outburst of feeling in England was very strong; nor did Bishop Colenso's reply to the remonstrance of the English bishops tend to allay the excitement.

We have seen how Mr. Browne had dealt with the earlier period of the strife. The work on the Pentateuch now brought him again into the field. He felt bound to dedicate all his strength and knowledge to a sound and temperate consideration of the important questions involved; and in the spring of 1863 delivered and published five lectures on "the Pentateuch and the Elohistic Psalms" in direct reply to the Bishop of Natal.

We learn how strong was his feeling on the subject from a brief utterance of distress and almost of despair in

one of his letters at this time. Writing from Cambridge, January 19th, 1863, he says :—

“What a sad business is Bishop Colenso’s apostasy! It is difficult to call it by a milder name. There is every appearance of a great crisis, a great conflict between faith and infidelity. Yet I feel hopeful of the issue ; but God only knows whether Antichrist with his lying wonders may not be permitted for a time to prevail.”

Men seemed to think that the episcopal standing of the offender was a great aggravation ; as if it were the special duty of a bishop to ask no questions and to avoid all the burning topics which might be warming the world around him. It was all the more trying and inexplicable to them when, a short time after, the man who had expressed himself so strongly against the Bishop of Natal was found ranging himself by the side of those three or four cautious prelates who aimed at seeing justice done. They failed to see how dangerous was the proposal to stifle all freedom of discussion, and knew too little about Church order and authority to appreciate the arguments with which, a little later, this little group of Bishops resisted the attempt to make the English Church approve all the violent acts of the Bishop of Cape Town.

Professor Browne’s lectures, which appeared in May 1863, were a masterly defence of the older view of the relations between the early books of the Old Testament and the declarations of the Gospel, and formed by far the ablest reply to Bishop Colenso. Without softening down the controversy, or seeking for a middle course in it, or showing a moment’s hesitation in pointing out where in his opinion the Bishop was wrong, Professor Browne throughout deals with his subject in a way which made him a model controversialist. There may be sadness in his tone—there is no bitterness ; he does not try to blacken

his adversary's character, to impute to him evil motives, to heap on him detestable epithets. The little volume is carried through in the spirit of the brief introduction prefixed to it:—

"I trust," he writes, "I have nowhere expressed myself with the bitterness or insolence of controversy. Deeply as I regret the course which the Bishop of Natal has taken, widely and painfully as I differ from him, I know him to be a man in whom there is very much to esteem, and I feel that he deserves all credit for his former self-denying labours in the cause of the Gospel."

Well may we say with A. P. Stanley, that happy would be the day when controversy was carried on in the spirit of this volume.

"CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, *May 23rd*, 1863.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have to thank you for your Five Lectures and for the courtesy with which you have quoted from my book.

"Would that even a quarter of the replies to Bishop Colenso had been written in the spirit of kindness and forbearance which breathes through your pages, and what a different spectacle would our Church have presented—and what a different effect, probably, produced on him!

"Yours faithfully,

"A. P. STANLEY."

The Lectures open with the most important of the questions raised by the Bishop of Natal, by discussing the nature of our Saviour's testimony to Moses, and ask whether we can believe that when our Lord declared that "Moses wrote of Him" he did so in ignorance of the discovery which modern criticism has just made, that "Moses perhaps never lived, certainly never wrote." The Professor here does little more than entrench himself behind the Church's belief in the Divinity, and, consequently, the omniscience, of our Lord. He is silent on the difficult

questions as to the effect of the Incarnation on the relations between God and man, or as to what Scripture says of the limitations imposed on His human nature. The second Lecture deals with the striking "numerical difficulties in the history of the Exodus," making a strong case for the credibility of the narrative, if the supernatural in it be granted. The third and fourth Lectures are a masterly treatment, by a patient and real scholar, of the supposed "Jehovistic and Elohist phenomena in the Pentateuch." This is perhaps the ablest portion of the reply; here the Professor's academic studies and gifts tell most decidedly. He takes up, discusses, and overthrows the Bishop's arguments one by one, and turns his weapons on himself. The last lecture is on a topic entirely suited to the Professor's temperament. Bishop Colenso had charged the Law of Moses with inhumanity. Now, no man ever had a finer sense than Professor Browne had of what is due on grounds of brotherhood and humanity to our fellow-creatures, whether men or animals. His treatment, therefore, of this matter was sure to be just and sympathetic. The lecture, accordingly, after showing that the main facts stated in the history of the Exodus can be proved to be true, ends by elaborately comparing the Mosaic code of law with that of civilised nations in ancient and modern times. He easily proves, as any one conversant with the history of justice in our own country is aware, that the Mosaic code was far less severe than those of many a boasted Christian civilisation, even in modern days.

This little volume was received, as it deserved, with much applause and goodwill; even those who were opposed to the conclusions in it were able to thank the author cordially for his fair and gentle spirit. Some of the letters he received are curious and interesting.

The Bishop of Lincoln throws a lurid light on the methods of controversy, and shows that not only the orthodox thought it safer not to read their opponents' books. The "enlightened" are often quite as illiberal as those they oppose.

"One of the worst features," says he, "of the prevalent scepticism is its unwillingness to hear and weigh both sides. A really scientific man of my acquaintance refused to read McCaul's book which I had sent him. He was 'satisfied with Colenso, who was unanswerable.' How would such a reply be designated in a question of physical science?"

And, one may add, how would the man of science, whose special boast is the openness of his mind to argument, have denounced any one who refused to read his books or to weigh his arguments, when they ran counter to the opinion of the day?

One direct result of the publication of the five lectures was an invitation to Professor Browne to take part in the projected "Speaker's Commentary." The ability and linguistic skill of the Professor's writings marked him out as the man best fitted to undertake the Pentateuch.

"Pray do not refuse," says Canon Cook; "I cannot imagine a more important work, if it be well done, and there is no name which would give more confidence than yours in the most delicate and difficult part of the whole undertaking."

Harold Browne was at once attracted by this proposal, regarding it as a distinct call of duty; he liked the thought of a group of careful and moderate Churchmen uniting to elucidate the Scriptures; he regarded the renewed interest in the Bible as a hopeful sign, and wished that the revealed bases of our religion should be handled in such a way as both to win back those who had been

alienated and to strengthen those who still held to them : the Commentary should aim at being clear, simple, explanatory, without entering into abstruse questions or even directly answering attacks. As he used to say that the best Church Defence was the strength which comes of doing one's duty, so here he held that the best defence of the Bible lay in an intelligent and reasonable use of it as the guide of life. He therefore agreed to take part in the work ; and in a letter to Lord Arthur Hervey, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, he shows with how keen an interest he entered into even the details of the scheme.

"THE CLOSE, EXETER, *July 4th*, 1863.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I do not know whether you may have heard that Murray is proposing to publish a Commentary on the S.S. in six volumes. The scheme was started, I believe, by the Archbishop of York, the Speaker, and some other eminent clergymen and laymen. Mr. Cook, Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, is to be the general Editor. Each section (such as the Pentateuch, the historical books, the poetical books, the major prophets, the minor prophets, the gospels, the Pauline epistles, etc.) is to have a separate editor. The New Testament will be in the hands of Professors Jeremie, Jacobson, Mansel, Bishop Ellicott, and Dean Trench, I believe. I have been pressed into the service as editor of the Pentateuch and writer of the commentary on Genesis,—certainly the post of danger, though perhaps the post of honour too. It was so urged on me that I could hardly refuse it. I trust a strength greater than my own may support me ; for I feel very doubtful of my own qualifications in any way. But enough of this.

"Your Lordship's name has been mentioned to me by Mr. Cook in connection with the Book of Deuteronomy. I can say most truly that I shall be heartily thankful if you will undertake it. It is rendered doubly important now by Colenso's attack on it in his third part. Your learning, soundness and yet liberality, qualify you for it very signally.

The plan is to print in octavo. About equal parts of

text and commentary, or text : commentary :: 2 : 3. The Commentary to be critical in its basis, but popular in its form, giving such explanations as any sensible fairly-educated layman may require and be satisfied with ; anything like philology, etc., being put in an appendix.

"Murray is very liberally disposed, so that there is no difficulty in getting help or buying books. He proposes to pay £20 for sixteen pages of notes, or perhaps, say, about £1 a page, as Mr. Cook thinks it may be safer to leave a margin, and not to count on the full £20. The work is to be done and ready, *i.e.*, written and read by the respective editors, by October 1st, 1864.

"If you have Doyley and Mant, you will find a page beginning Genesis xxii. 19 and ending xxiii. 10. That page, text and notes, nearly represents a specimen page which I saw set up at Murray's. I think Murray's octavo page contained a little less than Doyley and Mant's quarto page ; and it was only printed as a trial. The recent attack on Scripture and the consequent alarm produced in many minds have suggested this work.

"The whole work is to be printed in six volumes of about six hundred pages each, at 14s. a volume, it is hoped. I suppose we shall be allowed one volume for the Pentateuch, but I am not certain about that. I sincerely hope that you will think favourably of the request I now forward to you. I do not know whether Mr. Cook means to write also, but he empowered me to open negotiations with you. The other contributors at present proposed for the Pentateuch are Mr. Thrupp and Mr. J. J. Stewart Perowne. The other editors for the Old Testament are Jeremie, Professor Selwyn, Mr. Cook, Dr. McCaul, and Professor Lightfoot.

"Yours faithfully,

"E. HAROLD BROWNE."

Before this work could even be begun, Professor Harold Browne had been named Bishop of Ely. And yet he was one of the first to be ready with his portion of the Commentary. No man ever worked harder or more rapidly than he did ; so that, though 1864 was a year crammed full of new work, he still succeeded in grappling with the Book of Genesis, until early in autumn 1864 he sent to

the general Editor, Canon Cook, a substantial portion of his share.

“EXETER, *September 12th*, 1864.

“MY DEAR BISHOP,—I am delighted to have your Commentary : it is not a bit too long, and cramfull of the best things said in the best way. If you do not object I will have it set up at once and sent to all our fellow-labourers. I am quite in good heart now. If you can get your part done (and you have fairly broken the neck of it) no one has an excuse for delay. Thrupp will get on fast enough. I will get Pascoe to send a specimen to you soon. Rawlinson will be ready within a reasonable time. I shall have Job ready by the early spring, and be far advanced with my portion of the Psalms. Plumptre is sure to finish Proverbs, and has already sent me a considerable instalment well executed. Birks is getting on fast with Isaiah, and has sent the notes on twelve chapters. I have no doubt that the Old Testament will be in print within two years, and that we shall have enough to satisfy all reasonable people before the end of '65.

I expect much delay about the New Testament, but when the writers see the other part advancing, they will be stirred to emulation, and I shall take care to have a good specimen from a first-rate hand as soon as possible.

* * * * *

“Yours sincerely,

“F. C. COOK.”

CHAPTER III.

LIFE AND WORK IN CAMBRIDGE, 1853—1864.

THE fruitful years during which Mr. Browne was Norrisian Professor at Cambridge and Vicar of Kenwyn were days of incessant work and much anxiety. With a large and growing family ; with a very liberal heart, as of a man who cared little for money and was eager to do kind acts to all around him ; with two homes to keep up, and frequent journeys to make ; it is not strange that he found himself much straitened, and was tempted to undertake more work than his strength justified. In those clashing days the Norrisian Professor was inevitably sucked into the fray. He now also felt the deepest anxiety for his poor invalid daughter, who was becoming ever more and more helpless. There is no telling how much ripening and strengthening of Christlike love and patience came to him and his from this permanent source of anxiety. "I'm sure," cries sympathetic Reginald Barnes, at that time one of the Kenwyn curates, "that her life has been made a blessing to them, in calling out their patience and constant care."

Other matters also occupied his thoughts. His anxieties over the education of his boys are shewn in a letter he wrote to Mr. James, who had undertaken to guide the early studies of the eldest son, Harold, then about eleven years old. When Mr. James found it no longer possible

to be both curate and tutor, the question of a school became pressing. We are so content with our public school system—and, with all its drawbacks, there is so much to be said for it—that Professor Browne's strong dislike of it strikes us with surprise, as something quite unexpected in an Eton man. The immense improvement in school life was perhaps not recognised everywhere, and perhaps the memory of his own easy-going days at Eton made him unwilling to submit his sons to influences which had interfered, he thought, so seriously with his own progress in after-life. That education at home has its own distinct advantages is quite true; these advantages, however, obviously have to be set against distinct disadvantages. The intermediate course is that of day-school education, in which boys are educated in community, while they retain the benefits of home. This system has had to face all the resistance of old school and family tradition, and it is only now, thanks to the rapid improvement and spread of day-schools and to the aggregation of the English people in towns with their children to be taught, that this type of education is forcing itself into its true position. Professor Browne's own sympathies were with the older or 'Public' schools, yet he shrank from submitting his sons to their influences. Consequently, Harold, the eldest boy, was kept at home as long as possible, although his father was not able himself to supervise his education. By 1855, however, the problem had begun to take more urgent form. Harold was now old enough to mix with his fellows and to get advantage from the larger life of school. And yet the following letter shews how much Mr. Browne shrank from exposing a shy retiring boy to risks, and how anxious he was as to the right course. The question of the narrow purse was also a very important matter, as the following extract shows :—

"I need not be ashamed to add that I cannot afford to send my boy to a good school. If possible, I should reduce my present expenses very considerably; but my poor little girl renders that almost impossible. Two nurses and a horse and carriage are scarcely enough to attend on her, and her troubles give occupation to the whole household. I am therefore obliged to keep an establishment far larger and more expensive than I can afford."

This, however, was not what pressed most on his attention. In a letter to Mr. James, written from Cambridge, February 24th, 1853, he discloses freely and frankly his view as to the risks of school life.

"The conviction," he says, "of a quarter of a century, has never with me given way for a moment, namely, that schools are nurseries of evil, especially for young boys. If I could afford to send Harold to a public school, which is utterly impossible at present, I should not do so, on the ground I have stated; and private schools are generally admitted, even by the advocates of school education, to be, for the most part, if not universally, very bad places. I am perfectly aware that I am by my own system [*i.e.* by educating his son at home, with help from one of his curates] not advancing my boy's prospects of success in the world, as no doubt school is the best place to learn. But as I believe it is also the most certain place in this wicked world to learn wickedness, I therefore believe that I am consulting his eternal good, if not his temporal. In the many conversations I have had with advocates for school education, I have never yet met with one who would deny the imminent, and almost inevitable, danger to young boys of receiving moral injury from going to school. I am not prepared to deny that at fourteen or fifteen a school well conducted may be a desirable place. But the strongest argument I have heard in favour of public schools at all, is that if a boy gets well through a public school, he is proof against every other danger, as that is the greatest to which he can be exposed. I heard the argument used by a clever person a few days ago. And is it really right to expose young children to the greatest spiritual danger which human nature can encounter?"

"My own experience of home education has been favourable ; for I know, or have known, a great many men, brought up strictly at home, who have turned out the very best specimens of Christian gentlemen.

"I could very much wish that my boys could never associate with any boys who have been at school at all. Indeed, I do not let them mix much with any schoolboys—and when they do mix with them, I hope it is mostly in active games and amusements ; and I seldom fear evil when boys work hard or play hard. But I should be very rejoiced, if it were possible, that they should only associate with boys who had never been at school at all."

The close of this severe indictment against Public Schools will come as a surprise to many who knew the Bishop as a genuine public-school man ; one of those who, in thoughts, bearing, and in all that makes up social position, belonged to that somewhat exclusive fragment of English society which regards the Public School as an established institution not so much for education, as for the equipment of young men in all the necessary furnishings of the English gentleman. The truth is that, as years went on, and his bright sons grew up around him, Mr. Browne became more and more sensitive as to the all-important questions of morality, and grew unwilling to expose his boys to influences through which he himself had indeed safely passed, but which might easily prove fatal to a young lad's character. Yet after all, in spite of his most natural anxieties, Mr. Browne in the end sent his boys to school ; and they came back to him, first from Twyford, and then from Rugby, strengthened in mind and character, and fitted for their work in life.

In addition to his work at Cambridge and Kenwyn, Professor Browne was always a most zealous and interested supporter of everything which would tend to the expansion and development of the Church of England. During these years we have evidence of his strong interest in Missions,

and in the work of the Anglo-Continental Society. We shall see how throughout his life these objects occupied his thoughts and tinged his prayers and elicited his heartiest efforts. A letter dated Cambridge, November 27th, 1854, indicates this tendency of his mind, while it also shows us the innate modesty which forbade him to think that he might himself become the influential leader of religious opinion in Cambridge; his many engagements and duties hindered him from taking that leading place which he might have held with great benefit to the younger generations of University men. The Universities are not easily moved and won. The undergraduates, who are a world to themselves, make their own heroes after their own fashion; the men who influence them—and they are few and far between—are either bold and original-minded champions of some new phase of religious or philosophical faith, or, on the other hand, quiet, earnest, sympathetic persons, who attract to their side successive generations of religious lads. And the men who affect the currents of thought and opinion among the seniors, are usually those who have continued long in the University, with a tone of mind superior to the somewhat carping criticism of Common-room society. Though in many respects Professor Browne was eminently well fitted to occupy this position, he lacked time and leisure, and, perhaps still more, the ambition which loves to call the listening crowd around a man's chair.

“The Bishop of New Zealand has been here,” he writes, “preaching and speaking with marvellous power. I fear he leaves us to-morrow. Cambridge appears to me to want a helmsman very much just now. Professor Blunt had immense influence for good a short time since; I fear it is a little loosened now. Partly perhaps that he is older, and a race has risen up that knows not Joseph as he was in his vigour; but more, it may be, because

he is not quite up to the age. The theology of the day is not the theology of fifteen years ago. High Churchmen are still High Churchmen, taken out with a difference. I fear, if a clever Germaniser came among us, he would take many captive at his will. As it is we have no such, happily, to take a lead."

It was during the stirring years of this decade, in which England's horizon of interests, political, commercial, religious, seemed to be daily growing wider, that Professor Browne became the leading spirit in the Anglo-Continental Society. The sympathies of the average Englishman are not easily excited on behalf of foreign Churches or distant efforts for a reform in religious faith and usage: we know little about the ways of thought, the aims, the difficulties, of earnest people in other lands, and find it very hard to overcome the barrier of our insularity; it is also true that the very moderation of the position taken up by Professor Browne and his friends repelled the more ardent spirits. The Anglo-Continental Society has never been largely supported, although for about thirty years it has been engaged on a very interesting effort; the Church generally has shewn it little favour; few have cared to proclaim to the world that the Anglican Liturgy, the Anglican Episcopacy, and Anglican Divinity steer the level middle course. On both sides, within the Church, men looked shyly on the Society; some because they cared little about Christian uniformity and were content with more general views as to Christian unity; others, because they were suspicious of claims which seemed to them to deny the Protestantism of the English Reformed Church, and because they were afraid of Rome; others again, because they did not think the Society friendly enough towards the unreformed Churches. From one cause or another, this Society has had a hard course to steer, espe-

cially when appealed to on behalf of men struggling to release themselves from the rule of the Roman Church. It has had to diffuse knowledge about the English Church without proselytising ; it has had to reconcile two hostile principles, the one involving opposition to the dominant theology of Rome, the other endeavouring to shew to the Roman Obedience that the English Church is orthodox, duly constituted, and in all respects a Church, and that this Church above all things desires to recognise and be recognised by other Churches, even if they do not agree with her on every point. The Society was also anxious to befriend all those who struggled to reform the Roman Church, and those whom the Vatican Decrees had driven out of her pale.

The Society sprang out of a visit paid by two clergymen, brothers, to Spain in the year 1853 : James Meyrick, Fellow of Queens', and Frederick Meyrick, Fellow of Trinity, Oxford, now Rector of Blickling in Norfolk ; both moderate High Churchmen. They were much struck with the ignorance of Spaniards as to the very existence of the English Church. We English people always are astonished if inhabitants of other countries do not know all about us and our institutions, and comfort ourselves with the belief that if they had our Constitution and our Church all would be well. These two clever and earnest men became more and more convinced, as they mixed with the Spaniards, that if they knew more about the English Church it would shew them how to compass a conservative reform in their own Church, to clear away corrupt usages and extreme doctrines and superstitions, and to make them, without organic convulsion, a Reformed branch of the Church Catholic.

On returning home, the Meyricks founded a little Society for the purpose of opening friendly communications with

the Churchmen of Spain and of other countries, as occasion might serve ; and appealed to English Churchmen for help in making better known abroad the principles, the doctrines, the discipline, organisation, and position of the Church of England.

This Society must be carefully distinguished from the " Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom," which came into being about the same time. The two were from the outset antagonistic. The Anglo-Continental Society was based entirely on Anglican principles, and aimed at persuading Churchmen in all parts of the world to return from mediævalism to primitive doctrine ; it set its face against proselytism, and hoped for internal reformation. The other Society seemed more inclined to seek for peace as a suppliant to Rome, and to abandon the independent claims and position of the English Church. Consequently, the one was inclined more to work among the Greeks, the other rather to submit itself to the Latins.

From the very first Mr. Browne was greatly interested in a movement which seemed to provide an opportunity for testing, in a larger arena, the soundness and force of Anglican principles. The Anglican Church, he hoped, would become the model of many a reformed Episcopal National Church : the Governments of Europe would look with favour on a movement which, by detaching the clergy from the obedience of Rome, would render them more national : it was thought that, as Hume had said, governments would feel it their true interest to support National Churches, as bulwarks to thrones and institutions often threatened, sometimes sadly shaken.

In 1863 another change came to Professor Browne. He had long felt that the charge and care of Kenwyn was too much for him, and that his Cambridge duties made it almost impossible for him to go on with both. Yet he

clung to Kenwyn, from love of his flock, and also because, in spite of the improvement of his stipend as Professor, his growing family made it hard for him to live within his income. Now, however, the repeated insistence of the Bishop of Exeter broke down his reluctance, and he agreed to make the changes necessary before he could become Principal of a new Exeter Theological College.

He had no great love for such Institutions as the Bishop desired to see at Exeter. He thought them narrowing in tendency, and that their students took the stamp of some one leader, and stood apart from that wholesome English life with which the more manly and less trained clergy were in sympathy. He believed, in fact, that they were but poor substitutes for the general cultivation of the Universities, and regarded the system as one likely to hinder rather than to forward the usefulness of a parish clergyman. There had already been a tendency towards this specialised education for Orders, due partly to strong growths of party feeling in the Church, and partly to the throwing open of the Universities. There can be no doubt that the Bishop of Exeter's aim was to secure greater dogmatic unity among his clergy, and to provide them with weapons fit to combat the more liberal theology of the day. He hoped, by securing the orthodox Professor from Cambridge, to raise up a clergy theologically High Church, while he also got the credit of having placed a moderate, and peace-loving divine at the head of his new College. *The Royal Cornwall Gazette* of June 26th, 1863, says that "the success of the new Theological College at Exeter is now generally considered to be secured by the appointment of Canon Browne to the office of Warden." This new post, an office without emolument, had been first filled (on Mr. Browne's refusal of it) by Dean Ellicott, who had vacated it on his promotion to the bishopric of

Gloucester and Bristol; then at the beginning of 1863 the Bishop of Exeter again urged Mr. Browne to undertake it; and he did so, unwillingly, yet seeing no way of escape. His nomination shortly after to the bishopric of Ely released him, and was a fatal blow to the Theological College as such. The Bishop of Exeter afterwards founded in its stead a Theological Students' Fund, to help young men in preparing for Orders at one of the Universities; and this is still in full action.

All through these years there seems to have been a desire to detach Mr. Browne from Cambridge, and to attract him to a permanent position in the Exeter diocese; and in this the Bishop, the Dean, and the Chapter all joined.

Early in 1857 the Chapter of Exeter offered him the vacant Vicarage of Heavitree. It was understood that this piece of preferment was to be the beginning of such a series of promotions at Exeter as might enable him to resign his Professorship and to devote himself entirely to diocesan work. It was to be followed by a Canonry Residentiary in the Cathedral, and, on the next vacancy, by the Archdeaconry of Exeter. This, however, did not fall in during these years, and the offer of the bishopric of Ely directed his steps elsewhere. A letter to Mr. James shews how much harassed in mind he was, and how little confidence he had in his own health at this time:—

"TRURO, *April 8th*, 1857.

"I have, from hour to hour almost, thought I might be able to add to my letter a statement of my own plans for the future. Since Christmas the Chapter and myself have been in brisk correspondence about Heavitree. I have over and over again refused it. But it has been most kindly pressed on me, and at length I have accepted it, on certain conditions which I will explain to you, though probably it must be in confidence. Meanwhile, and at the moment that Mrs. Browne had gone a hurried journey to

see Heavitree and learn about it, it pleased God somewhat suddenly to call my dear suffering child to Himself. She was, for her, very well when her mother left home. She caught a cold, which seemed severe but not dangerous ; but suddenly it assumed a kind of quinsy or croup form, and terminated fatally in a few hours. The grief of parting was much aggravated by her mother's absence. But we can only, for our dear child's sake, be thankful that she has been called to rest, and is, we trust, in Paradise. . . . I said I would tell you on what conditions I am to hold it [Heavitree]. The Bishop and Chapter have agreed that the Archdeaconry of Exeter, with its Canonry, shall be annexed to Heavitree, permanently if possible. I believe the Archdeacon would, if asked, resign in my favour. He has often told me he would before this arrangement was made. But I wish to make trial of it first. I do not know that my strength may not fail in the work of the parish and the climate of the West. It is therefore agreed between the Chapter and myself (with the Bishop's full approval) that I shall continue to hold my Professorship at present, and when the Archdeaconry falls, shall take it, unless I find health likely to fail, when I may resign both Heavitree and the Archdeaconry, with its stall. One of my doubts has been the propriety of giving up my Professorship, which is now well endowed and is a most influential post. However, so it stands at present.

. . . . I left my party pretty well at Newnham. My wife, my sister Maria, and poor Lane were sadly worn, but improving. It is a cause of great thankfulness that none of us died or quite broke down, before my poor little sufferer was called home."

The death of his poor suffering daughter, who had never from her infancy known a day's good health, and was a very serious tie to them, was a deep sorrow. No one, unless he has known it himself, can realise how soon the very afflictions of a suffering child endear her to her parents ; the more helpless she is, the more care and thought are lavished on her, the more powerfully she entwines herself round their heartstrings, the more acutely they feel it when God mercifully removes the poor sufferer.

No sooner had Mr. and Mrs. Browne bidden a last farewell to their dear daughter than they had to get ready for their removal from Kenwyn. It was a very sad and painful time for them; and the kind Professor felt the strain to be almost too great. His letters of this period refer continually to the feebleness of his health; he hardly seemed equal to the task of taking leave of one parish and entering on another. We find him, barely a fortnight after the death of his daughter, occupied with the arrangements for his new cure. We have a letter couched in the kindest terms, written from Cambridge (on April 20th, 1857) to Mr. James, in which he doubts whether he ought to accept his offer to transfer himself with the Professor to Heavitree. Mr. Browne saw clearly that the suburban parish demanded robust men to work it, and as he felt himself far below what he could have wished in point of strength, he naturally felt that it would never do for all the staff to be weaklings.

"Barnes," he says, "is still delicate, though better, and very zealous. I fear," he adds, "you are not a very strong man. I know I am not a very strong man, and am on the road to fifty. . . . I am pretty well worn out with taking leave at Kenwyn, where I met abundance of kindness and regret. Reginald Barnes and I are feeble folk."

Again, two months later, we find him describing himself as very much overborne by work:—

"I rather want help soon—I have a good deal of duty at the Cathedral this summer. R. Barnes goes abroad the end of July. We have confirmations coming on. I have much work for Cambridge, and am much worn with work at Cambridge and Kenwyn, and here, succeeding to the sorrow of my dear child's last sickness and death. Now, too, the weather in which I have had to work hard here is overpoweringly hot. The parish is very pleasant, but it is rather too populous; and I ought to have no second hard duty, as I have at Cambridge.

"I have unfortunately to work for two duties, either of them more than enough for my strength. I have many lectures to work [at] for Cambridge, and to work in my parish too; and I have not had one week without parochial work or University work for near four years. I am therefore hoping to find a week or two to take a holiday myself before the summer is quite gone—I hope before my strength is quite gone."

Heavitree, with Mr. Browne's other serious calls and duties, was really too heavy a burden; and in truth he could give so little time to it, that the parish, less humble-minded than Kenwyn, began to grumble at a Vicar who was obliged to go off to preach elsewhere and to leave his pulpit to be filled by curates. However good a preacher the curate may be, the parish deems itself neglected if the rector is often absent; and Mr. Browne, during his short tenure of this living, preached but rarely.

"He is to return," says one of the curates, "to-morrow, in time for a parish dinner at the Horse and Groom. No very pleasant form of martyrdom for any Vicar, but for him especially unpleasant, as he hates public speaking, and as the captious part of the parish are angry at his being so much away from the church. He has not preached above seven or eight times there, as the Cathedral employed him during the last month, and it will take him away again for three weeks in September. I heartily wish he had less to do, but I am afraid he means to take the Cathedral work again next year."

"The captious part of the parish" naturally took exception at a Vicar whom they met on Sunday mornings, as they were going to church, on his way to preach in cathedral. In fact, Mr. Browne's stay at Heavitree really lasted only one Long Vacation, and during that time was much interrupted by other calls. Yet in this brief time he won the hearts of his parishioners, and was unwearied in house-to-house visitation. It is clear, however,

that his Cambridge work had become more important than ever in his eyes ; and where a man's heart is, there will the best of his work be done.

So things went on for the rest of the year 1857, till in December Dr. John Bull, a stout pluralist of the old school, resigned his stall in Exeter Cathedral. Dean Lowe at once wrote to Professor Browne, to say that he and the Chapter had decided to offer him the vacant Canonry, and concludes his letter (of December 12th, 1857) in these friendly and flattering terms :—

“ I can most truly add that it affords me the highest gratification to have this opportunity of marking the very high sense I entertain of your personal character and theological attainments, and of the credit which will accrue to the Capitular body from having your name enrolled in the list of its members.”

Just after Christmas, the Chapter Clerk, Mr. Ralph Barnes, cited Mr. Browne to appear in Chapter on Monday, December 28th, 1857, to pray, in the accustomed form, “ to be admitted to the place of Residentiary now vacant.” Very grateful he was at this release from the embarrassments of his position.

“ The difficulty of holding my office here [at Cambridge] with Heavitree pressed on me so heavily, and the prospect once held out to me seemed so distant, that I felt it would be almost impossible to hold on ; and God's good providence seems to have opened a path for me, when all seemed closed.”

Though the resignation of Heavitree was a great relief at the time, the actual leisure gained appears to have been very small. The very next year he speaks of himself as being “ worked off his legs,” and a little later, the death of his sister Louisa in his house at Newnham, near Cambridge (January 4th, 1859), added to the sense of gloom and

almost of despondency visible in his letters ; he was over-worked and did too much for his delicate health. Few men have ever had a sounder constitution, or one more free from organic weaknesses ; and yet from childhood to old age he was ever reminded of the frail tabernacle of the body ; the high sense of duty and resolute spirit with which he faced the masses of work which accumulated around him, kept him always on the verge of a break-down in health. This is his record of himself at this time, in Lent 1859 :—

“ I always seem to have more [to do] than I have time to do. At present the great number of sermons and public meetings I have to get through add to my labours ; Lent Sermons are innumerable now, and we have all sorts of National Society, S.P.G., etc., etc., meetings going on ; besides that, I have five sermons to preach as Select Preacher, beginning on Good Friday, which require some trouble to write.”

And in the same year, on Advent Sunday, he looks back on the past with a distinct touch of sadness :—

“ It is twenty-three years this day since Advent Sunday November 27th, 1836, on which day I was admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons. Much has passed since then, and many serious thoughts rise from the retrospect. In the great Advent hereafter I can only pray, ‘ Per crucem et passionem tuam Miserere mei Domine.’ ”

The truth was that he never could protect himself from his friends. Any one who besieged him with sufficient assurance could get what he wanted. He would far rather knock himself up with over-work than give himself and an acquaintance the pain of a refusal. Consequently, every one who wanted a special sermon, or a speech at a meeting, or a little help in money, at once turned to Professor Browne and added a mite to the weight of his burdens. It was this very willingness and kindness which

made people grumble at him. More selfishness, and the art (which comes naturally to most of us) of thinking first about oneself, would have saved him from many serious annoyances at this time, as well as from grave risks to health.

A new set of critics now rose up against him, this time assaulting him through the public Press. While still at Kenwyn he had been elected Proctor in Convocation ; and after migrating to Heavitree continued to represent the diocese. Now, however, that he had entirely ceased, on resigning the Vicarage, to be a parochial clergyman, there arose a feeling that the country clergy ought not to be represented by one of the Cathedral body. Men pointed out the obvious fact that the Chapter was already plentifully represented in Convocation, and that therefore the rectors and vicars of the diocese ought not to send another canon as their spokesman. There can be no doubt that for all practical purposes the beneficed clergy could not have had a more admirable representative than Professor Browne. His learning, moderation, soundness in Church views, and deep interest in the consultations of the newly revived Convocations, fitted him perfectly for the post, and the country clergy would not have found it easy to choose a better man. Still, men of more pronounced views, one side or other, thought themselves aggrieved ; and a complaint by a clergyman who signed himself " *Presbyter Devoniensis* " brought the matter to a point, and called for a reply ; for the " *Presbyter's* " letter made some rather serious allegations against Mr. Browne, as his answer (dated June 6th, 1859), sufficiently shows.

" ' *Presbyter Devoniensis* ' does me great wrong in saying that I am *anxious* to be Proctor for the diocese. It was *pressed* upon me. I confess that when I was once brought forward, I should have been sorry to be rejected, and that

I felt it a great mark of kindness and confidence from the Cornish clergy; but I never wished it. He wrongs me too in saying or hinting that as a Cathedral dignitary I do not sympathise with the working clergy, and that I neglected or partly neglected my parishes when I had them. I worked in every way at Stroud, at Exeter, and at Kenwyn, till such work ruined my health. My broken health, more than any other cause, made me desire a change of work, and you know that when I was a Professor I had three curates where my predecessors and successors never have had more than one, that my parishes might not suffer by my absence. He is too civil about my acquirements and abilities, but in all this he does me great wrong, and his letter is only calculated to increase that jealousy which the Exeter clergy feel so much towards the Cathedral clergy. Otherwise, I cannot complain of what he says; for I can quite understand the wish to have a Proctor always living in the diocese, and had no idea of continuing to represent it."

It was a fair and a frank reply: if the diocese wished to send him thither, he was glad to go, leaving to them to consider whether they were right in choosing a Cathedral dignitary instead of a parochial representative.

During these years Professor Browne was busy with professorial lectures and many sermons, which were the popular expression of his lecture-work. Beside his few pages on the New Zealand war, we have, in this year 1860, several separate discourses: he preached in Waltham Abbey Church on the eight hundredth anniversary of the foundation of that great House, the reputed burial-place of King Harold. Canon William Selwyn had been asked to preach, and replied, that at Harold's grave it would be sacrilege for a William to preach; why not ask Harold Browne? He also preached a sermon for the Missionary Societies at Aylesbury, entitled "Life in the Knowledge of God," and seven University sermons on the Atonement and other important subjects. In all these publications Professor Browne steadily increased his

reputation as a sober-minded and moderate Divine. People saw that while other thinkers and writers of the High Church side were pushing eagerly forwards, and that perhaps without clearly defining their goal, Mr. Browne held firmly to the somewhat inflexible system of polity and doctrine contained in the formularies of the Anglican Church, which he justified by an appeal to the belief and practice of the early Christian Church. The general result was that, during these Cambridge years, though he himself was often depressed, often in bad health, and suffering from the narrowness of his means, still, his reputation in the Church and University grew steadily ; and it was everywhere felt that it could not be long before he would be called to occupy some still more important office. He knew his own mind ; he was orthodox, with a certain natural liberality of tone ; a good scholar, a practised theologian, a refined and cultivated gentleman, with all the qualities which attract, and none of those more difficult and original characteristics which repel, the lords of promotion. His University expressed this feeling about him both by naming him as one of her Select Preachers at this period and by persuading him to write a full account of their programme of theological studies for the University Student's Guide. He accordingly contributed an excellent paper on the subject, treating it very practically and simply, and giving the young student sound and sensible advice. In it he says that—

“It is evidently an axiom with the University of Cambridge that a sound divine should be first a sound scholar and an accurate thinker. Hence, she encourages her younger members to devote themselves rather to exact science and accurate scholarship than to moral or theological enquiries. The principle is one of undoubted excellence ; we must only be careful not to carry it too far. Moreover, we must bring another principle to bear. It is this.

No study will ever be successfully pursued which is not taken up by the heart as well as by the head."

And he goes on to warn men against cramming and all unworthy ways of finding out the minimum of work, thought, and knowledge which will squeeze a candidate through the gate of examination; he protests, in fact, against work for a temporary object, with no nobler aim as to knowledge or self-improvement.

During these last years of his Cambridge life Professor Browne did much theological work. He contributed his article on Inspiration to the "Aids to Faith" in 1862; and published a course of Sermons, preached before his University, on "The Messiah as foretold and expected." In the next year (1863) he printed his five valuable Lectures on the "Pentateuch and the Elohist Psalms," a volume which had a sale of extraordinary rapidity for a controversial work, and passed into a second edition in the following year. He also contributed an Article to the *Quarterly Review* on "The Conversions to the Church of England" (October 1863), and worked out the introductory and other matter connected with the early portion of the Speaker's Commentary. These literary labours were all largely tinged with the controversial tone of the times; one reads Colenso or Baden Powell on every page; and it is not too much to say that of all the champions who descended into the lists on behalf of the older theology, no one did so much to steady waverers as the Norrisian Professor. With these works the earlier period of Professor Browne's literary activity comes to an end; for after the end of 1863 his attention was withdrawn from these matters to the practical care and charge of a large and difficult diocese. They were, in fact, his final efforts in the field of active controversy.

In all this period we are deeply impressed with the

honesty and directness of purpose which mark his writing, and with the unfailing courtesy of his manner and language towards men to whom he was painfully opposed. From this time forward all his writings are sermons, addresses, pamphlets, numerous but fugitive. The main period of his literary work is over ; the pen ever drops into the second place when the crosier comes into use.



BOOK III.

1864—1874

ELY.

CHAPTER I.

APPOINTMENT AND ADMINISTRATION.

FOR some years past people had been saying that Professor Browne must be made a Bishop. There had not been wanting indications. When the See of Ripon was vacated by Dr. Longley in 1856, it was thought that he was to go there. And Bishop Philpotts of Exeter had promised him that, when it could be arranged, he would make him his Suffragan Bishop. It was also thought that he would have the Deanery of Ely when it fell vacant. In a letter to Mr. James dated December 4th, 1858, he refers to the rumours on the subject :—

“Thanks for all you said about the Deanery of Ely. Though the papers had my name up for it, I never thought I should be offered it. I too strictly eschew politics to be a favourite with any Ministry, so that I especially wonder how I had so narrow an escape of Ripon. But I had quite determined not to accept the Deanery, if it had been offered me. I like my work here and my charge at Exeter far better than I should have liked to live eight months in the year at Ely. I should have been poorer, probably less healthy, in a position of less influence and power of usefulness, and so probably less useful and less happy.”

The moment the bishopric of Ely fell vacant on the death of Bishop Turton, every one seemed to feel that Professor Browne was the right man for the “Cambridge bishopric.” And he too, deeply as he felt the responsi-

bilities of the episcopal office, desired the promotion. There were matters on which he felt strongly, and as to which he could not have a free hand except as a bishop; he had a natural wish for a change of work, for he had never been quite happy as a teacher and lecturer. He was also conscious of a real gift for organisation, for which his life at Cambridge and Exeter provided no sufficient opportunities. Though his opinions in Church matters were not those of Lord Palmerston's advisers, he had many warm friends, and public opinion ran strongly in his favour. He was not left very long in suspense. On January 20th, 1864, came the Prime Minister's letter with the offer. It was accepted at once, without presumption and without hesitation.

The choice of the Crown proved very acceptable. Numberless letters of congratulation poured in the moment the appointment was made public. The newspapers re-echoed the general satisfaction; few nominations have ever met with so little adverse criticism. The *Guardian* says that it is a choice "which no party can claim as a triumph;" he is "a sound and learned divine, a popular professor, an effective preacher, an influential member of his University, and a hard-working, experienced, and dearly-loved parish priest. He is connected with no particular school or section of the clergy, and is quite free from, and superior to, all party associations and party influence." And it sums up with a phrase which comes very near the truth, that he is "not a party man, with High Church proclivities." On the other hand, the *Record* is not offended, though it might have preferred a man of a different type, and actually reprints the letter which, in his own defence, some seven years before, he had addressed to that journal. The *Standard* says, somewhat oddly, for it is not very true, that "his creed is not so much a conclusion of

the head as a conviction of the heart"—the phrase is intended to be very complimentary ; the article goes on very justly to say that "the secret of his power and the sum of his preaching is Christ Jesus the Lord." The *Morning Advertiser* strikes in with a jarring note. The appointment, no doubt, is excellent,—we are willing to concede so much ; but will the new bishop duly smash the infidels? Is he really what the "Interest" calls sound? He is not a teetotalter, so far so good ; but is he safe on the other half of the platform? And he is solemnly warned against "the Ewalds and Strausses and Renans, the Colensos and Jowetts of the present day, who . . . praise and patronise the Bible, while they criticise its statements."

But the queerest of all ways of looking at the appointment is that of the *John Bull*, which in announcing the nomination takes occasion to say that there has been a great change in the character of the promotions lately made by the Crown, and unfolds the deep reason for this change. Mr. Gladstone, as usual, is at the bottom of it all :—

"Lord Palmerston may perhaps in his more recent distribution of Church patronage have desired to save if possible his clever colleague who represents the University of Oxford from the mortification of being at last dismissed by his longsuffering constituency."

So that it is clear to this sapient party-print that the Prime Minister, in order to ingratiate himself with the Oxford Tories, selected a Cambridge man, who had never taken the slightest interest in party politics, as Bishop of Ely.

The only thing approaching a criticism on the selection is the statement, repeated in most of the papers, that the new Bishop is a man of delicate health and constitution, who may not have strength enough to pull together the

diocese after the feeble administration of his aged predecessor, Bishop Turton.

Among the almost innumerable letters of congratulation which poured in on Professor Browne at this moment, there are one or two of a certain interest, which show how many men of very diverse views and temperaments united in a chorus of satisfaction at the appointment. He says in a reply to Mr. James that he sometimes has to answer seventy letters a day.

One of the first of these many letters is from the greatest of modern theological scholars, Dr. Lightfoot, afterwards Bishop of Durham.

"TRINITY COLLEGE, *January 25th*, 1864.

"MY DEAR BROWNE,—I hope I may so far trust rumour as to offer you my very hearty congratulations on your appointment to Ely. It has delighted everybody here. For we shall not look upon you as taken away from Cambridge, but as secured for us for a longer time than we otherwise could have hoped to retain you."

Dr. S. M. Schiller-Szinessy sends a card "with profound respects and sincere congratulations," and a characteristic Hebrew text (1 Sam. x. 1), הָלוּא בִּימִשְׁתָּד יְהוָה עַל־נִתְּלָתוֹ לְנָגִיד

The Dean of Ely writes with delight at having "to certify to H.M. the election of the very man whom I should have decided to elect, had there been no terrors of *præmunire* to help my decision"; and Bishop Trower says: "I do believe that if Lord Palmerston had asked the votes of all (whether clergy or laity) who are most known for seeking the peace and prosperity of Jerusalem, the result would have been the same."

Among the many glad voices came one from the United States, from Bishop Williams of Connecticut, who writes on February 9th, 1864:—

"I cannot refrain from sending another note after my

former one, to say how truly thankful I am to God for having committed this important trust to your hands. I assure you the news occasioned almost as lively satisfaction on this side the Atlantic as it could have done in England. Had you seen the joy of my young men you would have realised that many whom you perhaps may never see with the eye of the body, honour and love you. If ever it could be a subject of congratulation to receive in trust the Episcopate, it cannot be in our day. But one may thank God for the Church, if not for the person selected. And I hope you will allow me to assure you that in these coming Easter days there will be prayers for you in these far-off regions, as well as among those where your life and its ties are found."

A Welsh vicar from the mountains writes very characteristically, rejoicing, thanking, begging :—

"I have never seen your published volume on the 'Atonement,' and I do not know where to get it. I happen to be now in correspondence with a Unitarian minister of some note who is wavering in his faith. I have no standard book on the subject. You must please forgive me once for all for asking you to send me a copy of your Lordship's sermon. In case you refuse, the Socinian may conquer me, as my arguments are nearly exhausted."

Mr. George Williams writes one of his amusing letters from King's :—

"January 27th, 1864.

"MY DEAR BROWNE,—It is a goodly practice of Christian kings on coming to the throne to proclaim a general pardon and amnesty for all political offences committed under their predecessors. May I hope, now that you have succeeded to the *triple crown of Ely* [an allusion to the arms of the See, three crowns or] that you will follow this example, and condone the ecclesiastical offences committed during the time that the See had no Bishop and no prospect of one, *i.e.*, *before* the demise of your predecessor? You know that certain busy-bodies, myself among them, took upon themselves, during this long voidance of the See, to organise a series of Lent sermons in the restored

University church, in which we wished you to take part. Please don't put us into the ecclesiastical court, but proclaim a pardon in the University pulpit itself, by taking part in the course. It is more important than ever that you should do so, now that you are to be Bishop."

There were also letters from many bishops, welcoming him into their circle with a respect and affection which continued to the very end of his long Episcopate.

There is a touching letter from a poor old couple at Lampeter, which comes eloquent with feeling :—

" LAMPETER, *February 8th*, 1864.

"SIR,—I hope you will excuse my great liberty in writing to you, but I could not help it, as indeed, Sir, Jane and myself cried with joy when we hird the glorious news that you was made a Bishop. May the Lord be with you and Mrs. Browne, and we hope that you and your family are well.

" From your obident servants,

" ENOCH AND JANE JONES."

The Bishop of Exeter was so much engaged on his plans and schemes, that he clearly regarded the appointment mainly as it affected himself. He hates Crown appointments, and refuses to recognise the right of the Minister to nominate to the canonry left vacant by this promotion to a bishopric ; he speaks of not interfering as an act of forbearance—he could have stepped in between the Minister and the Canonry, but did not.

Archdeacon Thorp of Kemerton adds a pretty touch of the new Bishop's childhood :—

" The union of sound learning, pastoral experience and moderation, free from all party prejudice and connections in the man placed in such a relation at once to the University and the Church, cannot fail to call to my mind the little boy, my fellow-traveller on the top of the coach to Aylesbury, whose legs, now long enough, did not

then reach down to the footboard, when I, a young Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity, made his first acquaintance."

The Archdeacon seems rather to pity Professor Browne for his promotion, holding that Ely is not considered a favourite diocese among existing or expectant bishops.

It may be well here to add a reply which the Bishop Designate addressed to his old friend and fellow-worker, Mr. James :—

"CLOSE, EXETER, *January 30th*, 1864.

"MY DEAR WALTER JAMES,—My heartiest thanks for your very kind letter. I am indeed blessed with kind friends, and am most thankful for the universal welcome which has greeted me. Few greetings can be more acceptable than those which come from an old friend and colleague like yourself. I greatly need your prayers, for the work is great and the times are troublous. My strength is small and much needs the support of God's grace. I do not know when my consecration is likely to be : not till after Easter, no doubt.

"I have only discovered to-day, to my dismay, that the Ecclesiastical Commission Acts added two counties to my diocese, and at the same time took away half or two-thirds of my patronage, leaving me with a great University and a great fen district, and less patronage than almost any other Bishop. This cannot but damp my work.

"Yours sincerely,

"E. HAROLD BROWNE."

One of the old friends at Kenwyn sent a very touching little note:—

"I hope that one day we shall meet together in Heaven, where parting shall be no more. I have to bless God that I am still in the same ladder that you represented at Kenwyn, that leadeth from earth to heaven."

There are a few indications of the spirit in which Professor Browne himself regarded the change that was coming

to him. One of these is the note in which he asked Professor Jeremie to preach his Consecration Sermon (undated):—

“MY DEAR FRIEND,—I rejoice to hear that you are better, and thank you for your admirable sermon. I am so much obliged to you for holding out the hope that you will preach at my Consecration. The Archbishop appoints April 10th, a day which will do well for your subject, I should think, as the Gospel is on the Good Shepherd who giveth His life for the sheep. I do not know yet whether Canterbury or Westminster Abbey will be chosen.

“Ever yours gratefully,
“E. HAROLD BROWNE.”

Westminster Abbey was eventually chosen as the place; the day, however, was changed. In the interval between his nomination and consecration Mr. Browne remained very quiet; almost the only public appearance made by him being at the meeting of the Exeter “Home for Fallen Women,” held towards the end of January. Here his address was simplicity itself, a few straightforward words, based on the infinite love and self-sacrifice of Jesus Christ, a sacrifice extended to the most soiled of sinners. One can well believe that his every thought and utterance during this time was touched with a deep humility, and that he truly desired to follow in the steps of the Good Shepherd, and to offer himself for the flock to be entrusted to his care.

He was consecrated alone in Westminster Abbey on Easter Tuesday, March 29th, 1864, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, his old friend the Bishop of St. David's, and the Bishop of Worcester. Dr. Jeremie, the Regius Professor, preached the sermon, of which “in the Choir not a syllable could be heard.” The enthronisation at Ely followed a month later. Edward Harold Browne became full Bishop of Ely on April 26th, 1864.

The diocese of Ely had been inevitably left much to itself during Bishop Turton's time ; no new agencies had been introduced ; the regular official work of the bishopric was feebly carried on by an aged and infirm prelate ; the relations between the University of Cambridge and the See had been left to take care of themselves. The renewed life of the English Church had already touched the Episcopal Bench when Harold Browne was made Bishop of Ely ; and it is not too much to say that in certain aspects of that revival of devotion and energy, and in the determination to render the organisation and machinery of the Church equal to the new calls daily made on her, he stood pre-eminent. If he lacked the inspiring eloquence of Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford, and the strong-willed vehemence of his friend Henry of Exeter, he had, as a full compensation, the power of attracting and swaying men, the advantage of knowing his own mind and of not being afraid of acting on it ; he had also a marvellous energy and love of work, which enabled him to revive Church feeling in the diocese, as by some electric force. More than in any other thing, the secret of his success as a bishop lay in his personal character. A man of peace and a man of high principle, he steadied the Church at a time when it was rocking violently ; he did more than any other prelate to restore confidence to the bulk of Englishmen attached to their Church, desirous of its welfare, and content with a moderate High Church texture in its services and organisation.

The charm of his personal character was much enhanced by his modesty. Holding so highly as he did the doctrine of the apostolical origin of Episcopacy, he never allowed his office to be treated disrespectfully ; yet no one found access to his private heart by paying court to him as to a great man. In a letter to his old friend Mr. James, he

takes him seriously to task for calling him "My Lord" and "Your Lordship."

"It would really oblige me," he writes, "if you did not write 'Your Lordship' quite so much when you are corresponding with an old friend. I am quite willing to receive the respect due to my office, however unworthy I am to fill it; but I do not like to feel that there is any distance between you and your affectionate friend,
"E. H. ELY."

His humility attributed all the dignity to his office, and nothing to himself: it was very touching to observe with what deference he would listen to men far beneath him. He was always ready to assume that there was a value attaching to the opinions of others, even of the young. One friend tells me how he himself, then a young Fellow just fresh come from College, walked one day in the Palace garden at Ely with the Bishop and a noted and learned Hebraist of the time, listening to an animated discussion between them on some disputed passage in the Book of Genesis. He was not a little startled when the Bishop turned to him, and with evident sincerity and gravity first restated his own view and that of his friend, and then asked his young companion for his opinion, as though he had been set there as umpire between them. The kindness and modesty, which seemed to put the youthful scholar on a level with the learned bishop, gave him a pleasure never to be forgotten. And it was characteristic of all his more controversial work: he treated every opinion with courtesy, listened to arguments, gave grounds for his own opinion, and brought things to a peaceful issue. As a consequence, very few implacable disputes, very few virulent controversies, no law suits, no trials of criminous clerks, or other miseries of the kind, troubled the repose either of Ely or of Winchester.

His favourite apophthegm on episcopal authority was the ancient formula, "Let nothing be done without the Bishop;" it seemed to be the germ of his commission, as deriving it from primitive episcopacy.

At the same time, though he was a distinct High Churchman, he could see the good in strains of thought different from his own. He was no party man in politics, though all his character and his sympathies and opinions were conservative; and the same condition of things also prevailed in his diocesan work; he carefully avoided giving a party complexion to his dealings with the questions which from time to time arose. He was no longer the champion of the advanced movement, as he had been at Exeter; his position is exactly stated in a letter of this period, in which a friend, thanking him for his primary Charge, says:—

"It is, I think, exactly what was wanted, and will, I am sure, give great satisfaction as well as instruction to that moderate party in the Church who wish to keep in that middle course in which our Liturgy directs us to go."

The Bishop carefully defines his position in a reply to Mr. Green, formerly M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds:—

"The National Church ought to be comprehensive and tolerant, giving fair scope to that diversity of feeling and opinion which has, and in this world probably always will prevail among those who worship the same God and trust in the same Saviour; and I never will be a party to narrowing the bounds of the Church so far as to reduce it to the proportions of a sect. Still, I am very desirous that the law should be so clearly pronounced as that we may know definitely what is permitted and what is forbidden."

In this side of his character as Bishop, that is, in the tolerant High Church aspect of it, he desired to follow in the footsteps of that predecessor of his both at Ely and

Winchester, the saintly Lancelot Andrewes, as to whom he himself said that there was no one whose memory he venerated so much, or whose example he would so gladly follow; "the very best type of the English High Church divine," he called him. At the end of his career, when one of the speakers on occasion of his retirement ventured to liken him to his saintly predecessor, the Bishop was completely overcome with emotion at being compared with the man whom he had ever regarded as his model and example.

Such was the new Bishop of Ely. And in other respects it was a very happy appointment. The diocese needed a firm and gentle hand; and the University was not always easy to deal with. True, Cambridge is not so difficult as Oxford; the relations between Cambridge and Ely have been more cordial than those between Oxford and Cuddesdon; yet, for all this, a Bishop of Ely should walk warily in dealing with the University. Bishop Harold Browne was the very man for it. He had won the respect of the University by his writings and character; his connection with his College, Emmanuel, was always most cordial. The Cambridge part of his episcopal work was altogether successful.

So too was his organisation. His proposals were reasonable, his way of commending them equally modest and learned: he could set out his views with a singular clearness and persuasiveness. The result was that throughout his ten years at Ely the diocese moved responsively to his call. There is no state of things so happy for a man as this: he has his convictions; he can expound them well; he has the motive-power in him which makes them operative; he sees his plans taken up, pushed forward, getting happily into work. And the Bishop's new impulses infused fresh life into the large and straggling diocese.

Under his fostering care Diocesan Conferences came into being. They were new then, and aroused the interest of clergy and laity in all parts. People came together who had scarcely met before ; grievances might be ventilated ; fruitful suggestions put out ; new organisations for diocesan work begun ; men felt that their work was being noticed and directed. More was done for schools, for ruridecanal work, for foreign missions ; also for missions in the more modern sense of the word, for the efforts, that is, to arouse a deeper spiritual life in England by special services, addresses, and other awakening agencies.

The interest of the laity in Church matters was stimulated ; work was found for people of every kind ; the experiment of deaconesses was made at Bedford and elsewhere. It is a sign of his great desire to attract lay help, that he did not hesitate to say that on lay Churchmen no greater burden should be laid than arose from the calls of a consistent Christian life, and from a belief in the Apostles' Creed.

The Confirmations in the diocese were much more carefully attended to ; and the Bishop introduced a new and more effective form of address to the candidates. The Rev. John Hardie of Tyntesfield, near Bristol, one of his earliest chaplains, who accompanied him on his first confirmation tour, writes with a vivid recollection of this happy change in the character of these important services.

" I recall," he writes, " with great pleasure his addresses to the candidates. They were quite unlike those ordinary echoes of the teaching already given by the parish priests ; for the Bishop uniformly took some passage from the Lesson appointed for the day, and on that founded extempore teaching which was good to be heard by all present, old as well as young, and calculated to make a deep impression on all for its earnest simplicity."

No sooner was Bishop Harold Browne enthroned than

he had to answer addresses from different parts of his diocese. These replies show us the temper of mind with which he began his work. Speaking to the Rural Deanery of Cambridge, he at once strikes a note of moderation. Our Church, he says, is neither superstitious nor rationalist. Clergy mix with the laity. He adds that "the study of objections, though it may perhaps oblige us to take a wider view of some points than we had at first expected, has not led to more doubt, but to the deeper and more abiding certainty";—a wise word to the alarmists, who are ever running to hide their heads in the sand. "Church Defence" associations also drew from him a simple declaration against panic. He told them that "Church Defence consisted as much or more in developing the internal efficiency of the Church as in warding off attacks from without;" and he struck the note, on which he had only touched in speaking to the Rural Deanery of Cambridge, by hoping that his clergy "would take counsel with their brethren of the laity." He added that he had hesitated about accepting the presidency of their body, because the clergy ought to be doing direct spiritual work, while the laity warded off attacks and managed the temporal affairs of the Church. Throughout his episcopate Bishop Browne did all in his power to enlist the active help of the laity; he, at any rate, never fell into the mistake of confusing Church and Clergy. He had, too, a natural and healthy shrinking from the fighting organisations; they seemed to him to be adverse to spiritual life, and to make men think they are doing God service, when they are only indulging in excitement. In his address to his Rural Deans in 1872, while he states clearly enough his anxieties as to the attacks made on the English Church, he adds significantly and wisely:—

"In general my own feelings are strongly opposed to anything like agitation in defence of the Church. Even

now I fall back on the principle which I have always advocated, viz., that we should begin by eradicating the abuses and increasing the efficiency of the Church. . . . It is apostolical in descent, in organisation, in doctrine and in its work. The more fully it can be exhibited as all this, the more surely will it maintain the character of its foundation, and the more will it endear itself to the hearts of its children. . . . The more efficient we can make the Church, the more surely we shall contribute to its permanence and prosperity."

When the Additional Curates Society, this same year, asked him to take the chair at one of their meetings, he took the opportunity of wisely laying it down, that the true way for Church advance was first to get the living agencies to work before meddling with "bricks and mortar." If the men have the right spirit in them, and are faithful and active, the necessary appliances will follow almost of themselves; schoolrooms, lay helpers, new churches will spring into being. And similarly, referring to Bishop Philpott's gift of £1,000 to one of the churches in Exeter, he says:—

"I am generally a little doubtful about building new churches. An increase of clergy seems so much more needed than an increase of churches, and licensed rooms make good chapels-of-ease among a poor people."

These words go to the root of the matter; one may easily retard the work of religion by church-building undertaken unadvisedly; while the influence of a good and devoted man is as great in a cottage as in a cathedral.

His first ordination on Trinity Sunday, 1864, gave him the opportunity of speaking his mind practically and plainly to the candidates. He commended to them the course of action he had himself always followed; the minister must make himself personally acceptable to his people, and must "acquaint himself with their own

objects of thought,"—a piece of advice which needs to be repeated again and again. He urged the candidates always to be "men of business," to avoid self-conceit, which, while it is "always odious, is more signally so when it shows itself in the professed follower of Him who was meek and lowly of heart." He then touches on a subject always in his mind, the relation of the Church to the working man, or, as it was then the loftier use to call him, "the Poor." The phraseology is rather old-fashioned: "If you wish the poor to respect you, you must respect them." "When you enter a peasant's hut, do not keep on your hat, do not use any of the airs of a superior."

In the following November the Bishop held his primary visitation at Sudbury in Suffolk; and took occasion to state with admirable clearness, a clearness not always pardoned, his views as to the English Church's doctrine of the Holy Communion. He proclaims that it is that of the primitive Church, which regarded it, as we do, "as an eucharistic offering of Prayer and Praise." And he continues:—

"So long as the Communion is called a Sacrifice, the Presbyter a Priest, and the Holy Table an Altar, only in the sense in which they were called by the primitive Christians, the names may be innocent and possibly edifying. So long as it is desired only to pay due reverence to the highest ordinance of Christ in His Church, and to honour Christ by honouring His Sacraments, there can be no ground of censure. But if by all this ceremony it be meant to indicate that there is not only a spiritual presence of the Saviour, when His feast is ministered, but a distinct local presence in the bread upon the table, then there is not only a sacrifice of praise and a solemn commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ, but also a renewal of Christ's sacrifice, and a propitiatory offering Him up anew for sin—then there surely is reason enough why we should dread the recurrence to these ceremonies which certainly meant this, and which have fallen into desuetude simply because they did mean this. It is thought, perhaps, that the sacrifice of

the Mass is not one of the greatest evils of Romanism, resulting only from excess of reverence and devotion. But in truth the most observable fact in the history of Roman doctrine is that, while it has highly exalted the great cardinal truths of Christianity, it has, by the very honour so bestowed on them, overshadowed and obscured them. It has preserved and embalmed them, so that their true lineaments and early history cannot be hidden, and yet by the process itself it has deprived them of life and strength. The respect paid to Mary arose at first from the still higher respect felt for her Son and Saviour. Its highest development—the Immaculate Conception—originated in devout reverence for the sacred manhood of Jesus; but it is now a fearful heresy against the Incarnation itself, placing a mediator between us and our Saviour, separating from close and immediate contact with sin-stricken humanity Him whose presence can alone heal and restore it. In like manner the sacrifice of the Mass unmistakably witnessed to the primitive faith in the great truth of the atonement through the sacrifice on the Cross. But its practical effect has been not to teach a trusting in the Saviour's love and eucharistic commemoration, or a faithful receiving of Christ, but rather a looking day by day for a fresh sacrifice atoning for fresh sins. So neither is that peace of the conscience really attained which springs from a sense of pardon secured by the one offering made once for all; nor perhaps is that salutary dread of sin cultivated, which the Apostle impresses by reminding us that, 'If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin' (Heb. x. 26). It may be that some who would revive that high ceremonial of which I have been speaking do not wish to revive the doctrine or the practice emphatically condemned by our Articles, but merely to lead us back to an æsthetic mediæval sumptuousness of worship. Surely, if this be all, it is not for this worth the while to risk, and more than risk, the peace, the unity, perhaps the very being of our National Church."

It will be seen from these words how far he was from sympathising with the later High Church developments. He became seriously alarmed, indeed, at them, and thought the acts and utterances of men, with whom in the main he

still agreed, were both hard to reconcile with the plain sense of the formularies of the Church of England, and also calculated to irritate quiet people. There are, no doubt, many who can remember, as the writer of this Memoir remembers, how anxiously he used to scan the manifestoes of the party ; and with what regret and even distress of mind he came to the conclusion that their language could not be brought into line with that of the Prayer-Book and the Articles.

The ten years of Bishop Harold Browne's episcopate at Ely are specially marked by his attempt to recast and strengthen the organisation of the diocese. He used to say that the Church of England was the least organised of all Churches, and that if at any time she were dis-severed from the State, she would have no machinery for carrying on her work. The fear of disestablishment was ever on the Bishop, and led him to try at once to strengthen the institutions of the Church, and to call out her true life by uniting her members, clergy and laity working happily together in earnest faith in Christ. He never lost sight of the great importance of enlisting the help and goodwill of lay people in Church work.

His scheme of diocesan life may be sketched thus : At the head stood the Bishop, the father of his diocese, the centre of its spiritual life and corporate activity. Close to his side he wished to place : (1) the Cathedral staff, the Dean and Chapter, to be his counsellors and most trusted agents. This for the whole diocese. Then, (2) by means of his Archdeacons, each in his archdeaconry, he hoped to reach every corner and to learn something of every parish. (3) Under the Archdeacons he ranged the Rural Deans ; by whose means he hoped to learn much as to the opinions of his people. (4) Once a year there should be a Diocesan Conference held in each

archdeaconry ; (5) and the Rural Deans were asked to hold ruridecanal Chapters. (6) Lastly, he looked with much favour on some scheme for Parish Church Councils, in which, under the care and presidency of the incumbent, Church people might meet, discuss, and arrange all matters relating to Church work within their parishes. He hoped to see growing out of all this organisation fresh efforts to spread the gospel ; lay-agencies fostered ; a permanent diaconate begun, and deaconesses appointed ; fresh life infused into Church education, new strength breathed into the societies, missionary, social, or other ; and, by these means, fresh vigour given to every portion of the Church's life. He also desired to make his views known, and his influence on religious thought felt, by his Charges, on which he expended great pains.

1. From Bishop Harold Browne's earnest desire to bring all, including the Cathedral body, into the diocesan organisation, came the distrust with which he regarded those difficult dignitaries, the Deans of his Cathedrals. They were so hard to bring into line ; their appointment by the Crown gave them a kind of independence ; the ill-defined relation of Bishop and Dean to the Cathedral Church, and the peculiar position of the Deans, tried him much. Thus, he had not been long at Ely before a conflict broke out. He sent to the Cathedral to say that on a certain day he proposed to hold a Confirmation there ; and the Dean, in posting up the notice, did so, after the way of Deans, with "By order of the Dean" at the foot of the paper. This seemed to the Bishop an attack on his episcopal authority, and he resented it ; even going so far as to have a case drawn and submitted to counsel. Writing to Lord Arthur Hervey, his Archdeacon, he says :—

"There is no doubt that when the Bishop orders a service for his Confirmations or visitations, the service is

wholly his own, and that he is entitled to order it exactly as he chooses. I was doubtful whether this extended to the Bishop's own Cathedral, as Deans have always tried to make themselves extra-diocesan. I have, however, Sir R. Phillimore's and Dr. Tristram's carefully drawn opinion that a Bishop is undoubtedly head of his own Cathedral in the fullest sense ; that he can order services and officiate so long as he does not contravene the Cathedral Statutes."

The opinion runs thus :—

"1. We are of opinion that the Bishop is by law the head of his Cathedral Church (of the New Foundation), and that he is entitled to officiate in the services of the Church, subject to such legitimate limitations as may be directly or indirectly imposed by the Cathedral Statutes. 2. We are of opinion that the Bishop, independently of the Cathedral Statutes, is Ordinary as regards his Cathedral."

And, eight years later, when in 1872 the establishment of the Cathedral Commission had led to farther discussion on the subject, he wrote a strong letter about it to his Dean, and ends by saying :—

"I so far agree with you as to feel that the uncertainty as to the relation of a Bishop to his Chapter cannot be allowed to continue. It might do very well in the end of last century and the early part of this century, when Cathedrals were looked on as pleasant places of repose ; but not in the (I trust) increasing life of the present time. I have deprecated legislation as a mode of settling such questions, because the most likely to be detrimental to Cathedral establishments. If legislation should prove to be the only possible plan, it must be risked, though I believe that it will in the end 'make a solitude and call it peace.'"

And in the Bishop's published "Letter to the Dean of Norwich," written in the same year, there is a distinct touch of irritation. "Does it seem unreasonable," he asks, "that the Bishops should believe that they have some status in their own Cathedrals, and are not merely there

on sufferance, and while there, under the authority of their own Deans?"

The Bishop may have been over-sensitive on the point, and inclined to give it more weight than it deserved; yet there was reason in his remonstrances, and ground for them. In his "Letter to the Dean of Norwich" he says:—

"For many years the late Bishop (Turton) had been very much on the shelf from ill-health, so that he and the Dean had never been in the Cathedral together, and the Bishop had probably not officiated in the Cathedral during the whole of the then Dean's incumbency. The Dean, my good and valued friend [Dr. Harvey Goodwin], had evidently the impression that he was the Ordinary, that I could do nothing in the Cathedral but with his consent. He objected to my taking any part in the services, except the Absolution in the Communion Service, and the Blessing; though this he afterwards gave up. If I held a Confirmation or an Ordination, or preached a sermon for a charity, there was always a printed notice issued, ending with 'By order of the Dean.'"

In accordance with ancient Church usage, the Cathedral is the Bishop's parish church, his parish being the diocese. This was very clear in early days, before parochial divisions existed; and it is most wholesome for all that the Cathedral Church should be so regarded. It should be the central place of worship for the diocese: and the clergy of it, under their Bishop, should be an important element in diocesan organisation. The older conception of the Dean and Chapter was that of "*Custodes ecclesiæ*"; the modern notion is that their work is far wider, and that the more a Cathedral body lives for the diocese around the better it will justify its existence. The old traditional hostility between Bishop and Dean is fast dying out, as the renewed life of the Church finds plentiful work for all to do. Even if "learned leisure" were lost,—it is already far rarer in reality than in name,—

Cathedrals will gain fresh energy and a new lease of life by coming into contact with the mother-earth of real work. The old notion of "learned leisure" ranks with that of the "endowment of research." It is beautiful in theory, it breaks down in practice. What has the leisure of all the Cathedral precincts produced in all these years? Where are our monumental books, our contributions to the advance of knowledge, our learning leavening the fabric of the Church? There are no such things. In the future, let us hope, the Cathedrals will be the mothers of life and enthusiasm for the dioceses: the men most capable of organising Christian work will be there; theology, moral science, practical goodness, will all look to the Cathedral clergy for help and guidance. Then the Cathedral Church will become the true centre of the diocese, the home of its common devotion; not merely the great ornament of the city in which it stands, but itself a city set on a hill, that all may see it and rejoice, and run thither for light, for shelter, for counsel, as they strengthen themselves and gird up their loins for the pilgrimage of work for Christ.

This difference over the relations between the two offices happily had no effect whatever on the personal friendship between Bishop and Dean. The writer of these pages well remembers a visit to Ely at Christmas 1865. On reaching the Bishop's house we found Professor Selwyn there in great excitement over some private theatricals shortly to be given at the Deanery: great was the rejoicing when it was found that we knew all about the right dress for a Danish priest, in which part the kindly Professor was himself to appear. The little piece was a play adapted by Dean Harvey Goodwin from a Danish drama, entitled "*Fetter Karl*," and the Dean acted as prompter, while his clever daughters and Professor Selwyn acted the play. Nothing could have been more pleasant

than the relations between them and the Bishop, who took the warmest interest in the performance, and watched the turns of the little comedy with great amusement. In truth, two men of the high qualities of Bishop Harold Browne and Bishop Harvey Goodwin, who then was Dean, could never have allowed estrangement to follow after any disagreement. After the Bishop of Carlisle's death, we find our Bishop writing thus :—

“His death is indeed a great sorrow to us. We and our children were almost like one family at Ely, and we have been as brothers ever since.”

2. In respect of his work with the Archdeacons, who represented the four divisions of his large diocese, Ely (for Cambridgeshire), Bedford, Huntingdon, and Sudbury (for part of Suffolk), it is enough to say that no bishop ever worked more readily, more unweariedly, or in a more brotherly temper with his officers. His warm friendships with that kindred spirit, Archdeacon Emery, with Bishop McDougall, who followed him to Winchester, and with the late Bishop of Bath and Wells, are memories of the most sacred kind. His Archdeacons nobly seconded him in all his efforts, and helped to arouse fresh life throughout the diocese.

3. But if all went well with the Archdeacons, it was not quite so simple with the Rural Deans. They were a revival of a very ancient office in the Church, and it was not clear at first whether a place was not being made for them at the expense of the Archdeacons, and also whether the clergy in their districts would acknowledge their authority. Jealousies and difficulties seemed inevitable. How were Rural Deans to be appointed? To whom were they responsible? to Archdeacon or Bishop? How should a Rural Dean enforce his authority? What were his

proper functions? All seemed vague, and there were no safe usages or precedents to guide. The Bishop attacked the problem at once. Writing to Lord Arthur Hervey in September 1864, he says :—

“I could almost wish the Rural Deans in the diocese of Ely, like those in Exeter, were elected by the clergy, subject to the consent of the Bishop. They would then represent the clergy, and a meeting of Rural Deans would be a representative body.”

We see by another letter, dated August 12th, 1865, the difficulties which beset the matter.

“*Returns of Rural Deans.*—I am sorry to say this is a vexed question. I hear many murmurs of discontent. Some of the clergy decline to send answers to such questions except to me directly. They do not recognise the right of a Rural Dean to demand them, or of the Archdeacon to be the medium of communicating to the Bishop.

“A., who, poor fellow, is not very sound in brain, having taken a fancy that the questions emanated from Archdeacon Emery, has taken every opportunity of protesting against the questions themselves. I have no doubt that I cannot by a general commission to my Deans Rural authorise them to make enquiries not submitted to by the clergy. Finding these in use, and well received in the diocese of Norwich, I feared no evil.”

The Bishop, in his thorough consideration of the organisation of his diocese, thought much of the importance of the Rural Deans. He appealed through them to his clergy, and encouraged them to hold Ruridecanal Chapters, “in which the subjects discussed should be chiefly practical, and directly connected with pastoral and missionary labours, or with Church extension and efficacy.” He also consulted these local Chapters on practical matters, and tried to make the subjects submitted to them bases for deliberation in his Conferences.

4. The Church Congresses, which began to be held in

1861, led to a wish for something more practical and nearer home, that is, for Diocesan Meetings, in which not only the larger questions of the day, but local matters also, might be discussed, and the conditions of the Christian life quickened by consultation and brotherly discussion. In 1863 the Archdeacon of Ely issued a paper on the subject ; it was also brought before Convocation, and, on the whole, opinion seemed favourable, though it was not at first clear what should be aimed at. Some thought that it should be a Diocesan Synod ; others desired a representative body of clergy and laity. The Diocesan Synod had been discontinued in England since the days of Henry VIII. ; it was an assembly of all beneficed and licensed clergy in a diocese, summoned by their bishop. It is described (in Burn's "*Ecclesiastical Law*," ii., p. 366) as "the assembly of the bishop and his presbyters, to enforce and put in execution canons made by general councils or national and provincial synods, and to consult and agree upon rules of discipline for themselves. . . . These were not wholly laid aside, till by the Act of Submission (25 Henry VIII., c. 19) it was made unlawful for any Synod to meet but by royal authority."

To these Synods the bishops apparently also summoned the deacons and a certain number of laity, who were to appear and make presentments as to the state of their several parishes. In the Synod the bishop made enquiries, heard synodical causes and gravamina, and reported to the diocesan Synod what had been decreed in the provincial Synod ; lastly, he published, on his own authority, diocesan constitutions, which, after being accepted by the Synod, became of force in the diocese, with appeal to higher authority.

The advantage of giving every clergyman in a diocese a chance of taking part in such meetings is obvious ; still,

there were great difficulties. Synods of the kind were illegal, their decisions would have no binding force; the numbers would be too large for conference; and the same tendency which in the lay world had commuted personal attendance into representation would be sure to act on Church assemblies also. Lastly, though the laity were recognised, they were not an integral part of a Synod; and it was felt that no system could succeed without the co-operation of the laity. Consequently, while Diocesan Synods, properly so called, have only been held here and there, yearly Conferences of clergy and laity have become the custom in many dioceses.

Bishop Harold Browne, while other bishops were hesitating or averse, pressed boldly forward. He was both prompt and cautious. He held an informal Conference in the first year of his episcopate, 1864; he then sent letters to the rural deaneries of the diocese, to elicit the opinion of his clergy; and when these replies had come in, summoned a Conference of the Dean and Chapter, the Archdeacons and Rural Deans, on December 13th and 14th, 1865. This Conference determined that there should henceforth be: (1) Ruridecanal Chapters, composed of all incumbents and licensed curates in the several rural deaneries; and (2) Ruridecanal Meetings of clergy and laity, summoned by each Rural Dean, and consisting of the clergy of the rural deanery as above, the churchwardens of each parish, and other laymen (to be selected by the clergy and churchwardens) up to one-third of the number of parishes in the rural deanery.

These two Conferences, in 1864 and 1865, were informal and tentative; the latter set going a system of Diocesan Conferences which had to be modified afterwards. There were to be two Conferences on two successive days; on the first day the Dean and Chapter, the Archdeacons and the

Rural Deans, met under the Bishop's presidency ; on the second day there would be more general conference of clergy and laity, one layman from each rural deanery being invited to join the clerical company. It is clear that this scheme was far too narrow to stand long. The clergy generally are not always in the humour to be set aside ; and a Conference of purely official persons, most of them nominees of the Bishop of the diocese, could never be regarded as representative of the mind of Churchmen generally. No doubt, the diocese of Ely was feeling the way as a pioneer for other dioceses ; people were cautious at the outset, and thirty years ago they were in a far more irritable temper over Church matters than now. The Bishop's complex scheme was, however, soon set aside, and by 1868, the double system being abolished, the whole Conference was thrown open to clergy and laity.

Beside organisation, the Conference of 1865 did some good practical work. It arranged for a Diocesan Fund, administered by a Diocesan Society, which should collect in one the scattered efforts already being made to advance the main branches of Church work in the diocese. The Fund was dedicated : (1) to spiritual aid, by providing curates, readers, deaconesses or mission women, in populous or widely scattered parishes ; (2) to the augmentation of poor benefices and the endowment of new parishes ; and (3) to the giving of grants in aid of poor clergy in difficulties. The Conference also considered Church education and inspection of schools, missionary studentships, and parochial organisation for home and foreign missions. Thus it will be seen that the Bishop carried out into practice the opinion he had expressed at the opening of the Conference, namely, that "the subjects discussed should be chiefly practical and directly connected with pastoral

and missionary labours, or with Church extension and efficiency." And to keep somewhat nearer to his ideal, he hit on the plan of holding his Conferences at different centres, so that, in fact, they became what one might call Archidiaconal Synods, coupled with a system of lay representation. At these four different centres, one in each archdeaconry, and usually at Bedford, Bury St. Edmunds, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, he introduced as much variety as he could; he found the fourfold Conference a very severe tax on his strength, though he persevered with it throughout his Ely episcopate. When he passed over to Winchester, and found a general yearly Conference in existence, he made no attempt to alter the arrangement, though he more than once publicly referred with favour to the Ely plan. Nothing allured him so much in the larger scheme as the benefit to isolated clergy of meeting and exchanging views and opinions with their neighbours. That isolation or "Congregationalism" of parishes always weighed heavily on his mind:—

"Clergy and laity," he said, "have lived isolated, divided, and disjointed, misunderstanding, suspecting, distrusting one another. . . . Above all, I have it at heart to break down that isolation, that wall of separation, which divides one clergyman from the other, and the clergy in general from the laity."

For he had not only the larger views of a man who has seen something of the world around him, but also a strong belief in the corporate and united character of a Church, as a body in which all are brethren in Jesus Christ, and are bound to avoid isolation and the risks of solitude.

In the subjects discussed in these earlier Conferences the Bishop avoided abstract topics, or anything which might lead to heat and irritation. Early, however, in 1867 the Church Defence Association of Cambridge perhaps

dissatisfied at a system which sounded so peaceful a note and seemed to avoid fighting questions, their favourite business, addressed a memorial to the Bishop on the question of the revival of Diocesan Synods. The Bishop replied that Diocesan Synods are a part of the constitution of a National Church, and that they were clearly contemplated by the English Reformers. He urged that in such Synods the laity must also have a voice, partly because it was in accordance with ancient Church usage that all the members of the body politic should have the right to appear, and partly because it was wise to welcome them, as they would inspire confidence, and procure acceptance for the decrees to be promulged. He points out that synodical action exists and succeeds in America ; and that in his belief the effects of it on the Church at home would be happy. Church Congresses, he adds, have already proved that men of very different views can meet and discuss points of difference in a charitable spirit. He thinks it would not be hard to provide accommodation at Cambridge for about seven hundred clergy and about thirteen hundred churchwardens, in all a body of about two thousand. He thinks that the subjects for discussion ought to be selected by a committee, under the Bishop's eye ; and concludes by suggesting that at first matters of detail might well be left to him. And finally he says that as he took an active part in the first Church Congress which was held there, so he hoped that now it would be followed by nearly if not quite the first Diocesan Synod ever held in modern times.

This reply was followed by a circular, dated January 25th, 1867, addressed to the Rural Deans, by whom, as on a pivot, he hoped to set the system moving. In it he is "anxious to know the sentiments of the clergy and faithful laity of his diocese on the questions raised." The circular

shows how much he had at heart the revival of constitutional life in the English Church in the face of the perils threatening the whole fabric; for the Bishop was no optimist, and was always inclined to take an alarmist view of the relations of the Church to the people of England.

"There is an increasing danger," he writes, "from enemies both within and without; clergy and laity will have to draw closer together and consult more freely and fully for the maintenance of true doctrine and of sound discipline."

And he goes on to give a very simple account of the genesis of the modern Diocesan Conference:—

"It was with this and with the well-known example of St. Cyprian full in my memory (Ep. xiv., p. 32: Oxf. 1682) that in the first year of my episcopate I commended the meeting of Ruridecanal Chapters throughout my diocese, encouraged the calling in of laymen as assessors to the clergy, and endeavoured by a simple machinery to gather up the results of such meetings in a central assembly at Ely."

He then pointed out the practical difficulty of convoking a Synod of some two thousand members to sit for a couple of days in the Cathedral Church. "A Diocesan Congress" would be very different from a Diocesan "Synod," and "I should much deplore the assembling of such a large body merely to hear speeches from a few popular orators, or to excite one another to strong feelings on great party-questions." He points out that the new Diocesan Synod could neither be the consistory court of the Bishop nor the right place for gravamina. For the consistory court is now otherwise constituted, and the clergy can reach their Bishop more easily (and apparently do not hesitate to do so) through the penny post.

"There remains," he adds, "but one other use for which the ancient Diocesan Synod appears to have met, viz., to

discuss the practical wants of the diocese, to give account of its practical working to the Bishop, to give counsel to him, and to hear advice from him on these wants and their working."

He then asks the opinion of the Deaneries as to whether this last work can be better done by a Synod composed of the whole clergy and of selected laymen. He also says that he would like to see all schools of thought fairly represented; for he has confidence in that large body of conservative-minded men who rank themselves on no side and belong to no school. The party-folk, he says, with a slight touch of scorn, "make plenty of noise, but are really a very small minority."

The upshot of the whole enquiry, which elicited much interest, was the establishment of the Diocesan Conference, composed of a manageable number of clergy and representative laymen, Churchmen,—not, as at first suggested, necessarily churchwardens. In the first Conference all the clergy and all the churchwardens had a seat.

This important body met at last in October, 1868. It was much larger than was desirable; the number of persons summoned averaged about seven hundred or eight hundred in each division, and those actually present were about four hundred.

The subjects of the 1868 Conference were: (1) The maintenance of the National Church; (2) Lay work; (3) Unity within the Church, and hopes for the comprehension of Nonconformists; and (4) The practical question of Church rates. The Bishop in his addresses touched on some important matters: he brings out the old figure of the "educated Christian gentleman" in each parish; yet he feels that this personage is much too independent. He also notices the shift of political power to the people, and urges the Church to adapt herself to the new conditions,—

advice which she has shewn herself very reluctant to follow during the past quarter of a century. He also points out that the old parochial system is not flexible enough to cope with the difficulties which meet the Church in large cities, and declares bravely that it must be supplemented by new machinery and more distinct co-operation ; and he might have added, with that nobler spirit of self-sacrifice of which we have since seen splendid examples. As to the question of Church and State, he speaks temperately and sensibly : it need not so much scare us if we are ready ; should it take the Church unawares and unorganised, the effect of separation would be very serious. He recognises that the laity are, not unnaturally, rather jealous of much organisation, and fear a kind of sacerdotal conspiracy. And to this fear he replies by declaring it to be his wish that the new organisations should be not sacerdotal but mixed and general, lay and clerical, accepted by all.

“ There is a feeling,” he says, “ that the High Church are more in favour of organisation, and that the Evangelical party (for which I cannot in many points but feel great sympathy) prefer individual spiritual work ; but I am certain that a sectional organisation will take place, unless all parties, high, low, and broad, work together, and those who hold back will be left behind. We want religious organisation in a friendly spirit in spiritual work.”

He holds that, with a view to union, there should be no resolutions nor any voting ; only committees nominated for special work, and conference and exchange of opinions. He is also very earnest in deprecating exclusion ; for the Church of England is the true Catholic Church in England, “ containing in it every one baptised into Christ, embracing all who acknowledge the Apostles’ Creed.” And in it all should meet in a friendly spirit under their Bishop, “ who, I hold, is bound to be no party-

man ;" he feels sure that, if they met together, parties would quarrel less than was generally expected.

These yearly conferences were not truly representative ; and, consequently, towards the end of Bishop Browne's Ely episcopate some murmurs and complaints arose. The clergy resented the preponderance of *ex officio* members, the Bishop's nominees ; he, somewhat jealous of his authority, defended the system, urging that it worked well. The Conference of 1873 had a committee on the subject, which reported that there was not a single elected or representative clerical member, and advised that elections should be held for one clerical and one lay representative in each rural deanery. Before any action could be taken the Bishop had left the diocese.

He always took deep interest in the proceedings of the Church Congresses. They have afforded so good an opportunity of testing the new life and vigour which has by God's blessing been breathed into the Church, that he regarded them as the germ of self-government and of a new and wholesome revival of discipline. The meetings of Congress soon shewed that Churchmen could meet without flying at one another's throats, and that there was a broad middle group of men willing to tolerate differences of opinion.

5. In the matter of Parish Councils we find Bishop Browne well in advance of his clergy. The subject has since his day grown into very great importance ; and the State has occupied the ground which was then open to the Church. The Councils recommended by the Bishop were cautiously guarded ; for he had no democratic leanings. It should not be the old mediæval Vestry, with its meeting of all ratepayers, nor a body elected by what the opponents of the popular will style "mechanical voting" or "mechanical majority,"—by which seems to be meant the expression of

each person's free judgment, if it takes a direction opposed to the opinion of his "betters." The Bishop's Council should be carefully selected from the tried supporters of Church and clergyman. Even so, his views were so far in advance of those of the clergy that they fell dead both at Ely and at Winchester. Hardly a dozen of his Councils were attempted in either diocese. The clergy, as a rule, are suspicious as to interference, and fear outspoken criticism; accustomed to act for themselves, they deem themselves independent of their flocks, and have no wish for a Council at their elbow. Parish Councils of a very different type are coming now, and the clergy have unfortunately once more lost the initiative. *Post est occasio calva.*

Bishop Harold Browne's desire to take his diocese into counsel with him is further illustrated by the tone and tenor of his Charges. His primary Charge, given after he had been at Ely for nearly two years, was received with great favour, though the earnest warnings against extremes in the matter of ritual were distasteful to a certain minority. The *Spectator*, in a very friendly article, says that it is

"a charge which should rank him by the side of the Bishop of St. David's and the Bishop of London, as one of the great champions of comprehension rather than of narrow definition with relation to the doctrinal character of our National Church. And, what is better still, because less susceptible of doubtful interpretation, it shows him to be one of the great advocates for the charity of our Burial Service, and that on the highest ground—the ground not of conjectural patronising charity on *our* part, but of the universal scope and intention of God's love in Christ."

The reviewer also warmly applauds the Charge, as taking a broad and liberal view of the "intellectual boundaries of Christ's truth, and of the spiritual boundaries of Christ's mercy." And he ends by saying :—

"If the Bishop's ecclesiastical influence in the Church is

to be judged by this Charge, we may look forward to having in future in the Upper House of Convocation a great accession to the strength of that small but noble party which, resting chiefly on Dr. Thirlwall and Dr. Tait, has recently done so much to redeem the Church from the charge of petty bigotry and ecclesiastical craft."

While the Bishop's utterances—sensible, charitable, and full of a high Christian spirit—seemed to mark him out as a tolerant and liberal-minded prelate, his intense devotion to the Church also appears in a paragraph in which he defines and defends the middle position it loves to hold.

"It is common," he says, "with those organs of thought whose very boast is that they are the voices of the spirit of this world, to represent the Church of this land as a mere negation, a compromise, by which all definite truth has been silenced, all earnestness neutralised and forbidden; neither Catholic nor Evangelical, a mere *tabula rasa*, with no clear characters anywhere impressed on it. But in very deed the Church is full, not empty—gathering from the right hand and from the left—full of all deep Catholic doctrine, all holy Evangelical truth—primitive, Apostolic, Catholic, Scriptural, Reformed, Evangelical. It has eliminated nothing but error. Having 'proved all things' it 'holds fast that which is good.' It is not a compromise between truth and falsehood, but a comprehension of all that is Christian and holy and true."

And in a letter, written soon after receiving a copy of this primary Charge, Professor Lightfoot, whose words must always command the respectful attention and ready acceptance of English Churchmen, speaks warmly and wisely. While he thanks him for his protest against innovations in ritual, he regrets the need for such protest, and urges the Bishop to do all in his power to retain good and earnest men, "in spite of their follies," within the walls of the English Church. He ends by saying that he fears "nothing more than an anti-ritualistic panic."

The Charge deals also with the state of the diocese.

He describes it as a district of large acreage and small population ; it has no large towns, no great manufactures ; it is well supplied (and, indeed, by comparison with most northern dioceses over-supplied) with clergy, having in all seven hundred and thirteen, or one for every six hundred and eighty of the population. Communications, in some parts, are not easy ; the small parishes are more awkward to work than the large ones ; there is too much non-residence among the land-owners and clergy. The working-folk have little love for the Church or for her ministers. There is also the peculiar fen-life, unhealthy and isolated ; the diocese also, on the moral side, suffers from the system of working in gangs. On the other border of the diocese were the difficulties, educational and moral, of the straw-plaiting industry ; he makes excellent suggestions as to the best way of overcoming the evils. He traces the growth of the parochial system, and sees its weak points ; he commends the employment of mission women or deaconesses ; nor does he forget the importance of enlisting lay-help, wherever possible, for the work of a parish. And with much that is wise as to the folly of stifling enquiry, and with remarks on the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, he closes a Charge which, for interest, importance of topics discussed, piety and charity, and for practical advice and suggestions, may be ranked very high among episcopal utterances.

It was in October that the thought of a yearly meeting of the East Anglian Bishops, to help one another in spiritual life and work, and to consult together on practical questions bearing on the efficiency and right guidance of the Church, took definite form. These Conferences sprang out of a visit paid by the Bishop of Ely to the Bishop of Norwich, when the value of sympathy and fellowship in all good objects was much in the minds of the two prelates.



From a Photograph

THE EAST ANGLIAN PRELATES.

BISHOP MAGEE (Peterborough). BISHOP CLAUGHTON (St. Albans).

BISHOP HAROLD BROWNE (Ely).

BISHOP WORDSWORTH (Lincoln). BISHOP PELHAM (Norwich).

by Titterton, Ely.

Face A. 285.

The Bishop of Lincoln (Wordsworth) entered warmly into the scheme, and urged that, as he was the senior of the Eastern Counties Bishops, the experiment should first be tried at Riseholme, where accordingly the first meeting took place in November 1865. The Bishops invited were Lincoln, Ely, Norwich, Peterborough, and Rochester ; on the establishment of the See of St. Albans, which took away the Essex part of the older See, Rochester ceased to be East Anglian, and St. Albans was invited to take the place.

These meetings have been kept up ever since that time, with real success, spiritual and social. That all was not solemnity is clear from the incident of the photograph of the five Bishops, which was taken in 1872. Mr. Titterton, the photographer at Ely, was astonished one morning by the invasion of five Bishops, headed by the Bishop of the diocese, who came in laughing, and called out, "Mr. Titterton, here are five Bishops out on a spree ;" "and," said that good man, "these distinguished gentlemen were all as merry as boys." Bishop Magee naturally led the way ; and when the photographer remarked that "he wanted to get them all on an equal plane," cried out, "What? all equally plain, did you say? That would be very hard on the others!" and it was some time before sufficient gravity could be restored.

Matters of ritual and ornament also in these days occupied much of the Bishop's thoughts. A letter written by him from Ely at the end of 1865 to his friend and colleague, Lord Arthur Hervey, shews us what way his mind was moving at that time :—

"MY DEAR LORD ARTHUR,— . . . I should have tried to consult you more privately about one or two points. One is, whether there is any hope that any mutual concessions should reconcile the extreme ritualists and their

extreme opponents. I imagine that in Parliament and Convocation we may have a struggle. I should be very sorry that it should lead to schism. If the ritualists would accept licence to go a certain way but no further (the limit of course being to be discussed) we might obtain an approximation to uniformity of ceremonial. Neither you nor I wish it to be too bare ; but we do not like others to be offended by its being too gorgeous."

And again, a fortnight later, he reverts to the subject :—

"PALACE, ELY, *January 1st, 1866.*

"MY DEAR LORD ARTHUR,— . . . There is an able argument on 'Ritualism and the Ecclesiastical Law' in the first Number (January 1866) of the *Contemporary Review*. It is evidently by a lawyer. From that and from other sources I gather that the law will probably prove to be, that a cope and alb worn at Communion are admissible ; but that lights on the altar, processions, incense, turning the back to the people during the consecration, are illegal ; and also that *altars* as distinguished from communion-tables are illegal. I do not think much harm would come if both parties would agree to this. A cope worn at the Holy Communion (if processions, incense, adoration of the elements, etc., were forbidden) would do little harm. But even this compromise I fear will not be accepted by either party.

"Ever, my dear Lord,

"Yours most sincerely,

"E. H. ELY."

And again, in the following May :—

"You will be interested to hear that a carefully elaborated case has been laid before Sir R. Phillimore, Sir Hugh Cairns, and Mr. Melhuish, and they have pronounced a decided opinion against the legality of altar-lights, incense, mixing water with the wine, and vestments. I have not yet seen the opinion."

Later judgments have modified this view of the subject.

Simply as shewing how little the Bishop was inclined to deal hardly with these innovations, when they came

before him in a practical form, we may quote another letter to the same Archdeacon, in which he says :—

“Touching the stone slab in Mr. Luke’s altar-table, Mr. Lee thinks it could not legally have been put up without a faculty ; but, if it excites no strong feeling, it might be as well *quieta non movere* ! I should feel it difficult to order the removal of a like slab in Wisbech church, where the Vicar is rather Low than High, and where I suppose the history of the slab to be much the same.”

When a Memorial on these subjects was presented to him, his reply breathed a spirit of caution and tolerance, with an instinctive shrinking from extremes :—

“I view,” he says, “with the deepest sorrow the present divisions in the Church, and the rashness with which some of the clergy are reviving forms and customs unknown among us for many centuries, some of which are intended to symbolise doctrines deliberately rejected by our branch of the Church Catholic of Christ.” [He instances Hymns to the Virgin Mary.] “The Church ought to be comprehensive and tolerant, giving fair scope to that diversity of feeling and opinion which always has, and in this world probably always will prevail among those who worship the same God and trust in the same Saviour ; and I will never be a party to narrowing the bounds of the Church so as to reduce it to the proportions of a sect.” “I can sympathise,” he adds, “with a man who says, ‘I and those who think with me hold that the great doctrine of the Cross of Christ and faith in His atoning blood is the vital essence of Christianity, and unless I can see other people sound upon that, I can have no hope that the true faith of the Church of Christ will prevail.’ I can understand, on the other hand, that another person may say : ‘Those who think with me give great and deep value to the incarnation of Christ and to the union of every Christian soul with the incarnate Saviour, and the dwelling of the Spirit of God in every Christian’s breast ; and on that principle I exalt and value the Sacraments ; and I cannot think that those who differ from me in this are doing all that the Church teaches.’ I, for one, thank God that I most heartily agree with both. I can quite understand how people who take

either view may be disposed to bring every one into conformity with themselves, and reject all who do not join them. But surely, if we take an example, we shall see how all may be comprehended in one. I will not name living men, as they are mixed up in questions on which there may be differences of opinion. I will go some way back ; and, as examples of the High Church school, take Archbishop Laud, or my great predecessor in this diocese, Bishop Andrewes ; I will take such men as Archbishop Leighton and John Wesley as representing the Low Church party ; and Bishop Whately and Dr. Arnold as representing the Broad Church ; and I would ask, Is there any single person who would like to see the limits of the Church drawn so closely as to exclude any of these ? I am sure that a Church which would exclude any of them would not be a Church but a sect. Let us try and remember that mutual forbearance is one of the great principles of unity ; and that we may preserve all essentials and still have unity. The unity, in fact, to which the questions I have proposed for consideration point is, not compelling anyone to come into our own narrow school, but the principle of uniting in great and God-like aims in common action, to the neglect of minor differences."

It will be seen how free the Bishop was from taint of party spirit ; the result was that both sides were inclined to taunt him with blowing an uncertain trumpet, when he was not leading on a party to the fight, but trying, in a true Christian spirit, to find out how to reconcile the combatants, or at least to draw them to a truce. He himself liked a dignified and rather elaborate ritual ; yet now, as Bishop, he refused to countenance the further advance. His stem-principle was peace in Christ, a gospel large enough for all ; he deprecated all warfare between Churchmen, whether in the courts or in pulpits, in conference or in newspaper. His efforts were blessed with no little success ; though the controversies of this period were hot, and wrapped him again and again in a steaming atmosphere of quarrel, he never lost his coolness and clearness

of vision, or forfeited the universal respect and affection of his flock.

The same spirit appears also in his remarks on those outside the Church. He had been personally friendly with the Wesleyans at Kenwyn ; and now he wrote :—

“The Church of England is the only denomination that neglected to use the energies of the middle and lower classes. The Wesleyans have a vast number of persons who exert themselves for the glory of God, and if we do not employ such persons in the Church of England, they will go elsewhere.”

The solution seemed to him to lie in the direction of a permanent diaconate. If Disestablishment were to come, he adds, “it would be a deplorable evil ; but it would not touch or alter the catholicity of the English Church,” —a wholesome saying, and at the same time a grave rebuke to those who by speaking of the temporalities of the Church as if they were her essence, give plentiful hold to our antagonists. The Roman Church smiles when it hears Bishops talk as if all the loose charges about the State-created Church of the sixteenth century were perfectly true ; as if, were the connection between Church and State snapped, the English Church would cease at once to exist.

Two years later at the Conference of 1870 the Bishop's note was not so high or hopeful ; it was no longer the brave and fearless call of a resolute leader, but a slightly plaintive appeal to his followers to bestir themselves and “save the Church.” The Irish Church had just been disestablished, though not by any means disendowed, by Parliament, and at Rome the Vatican Council had pushed antagonism a stage farther on its irreconcilable course. In that year, referring to the deaths which had taken place, he says, “There are dark shades in the losses we

have sustained ; there are brighter shadows ” (a strange but not unnatural phrase, one which a painter would have approved) “in those we have secured : we have recruited our strength as well as we could possibly have hoped.” He is referring to the help he had just obtained from Bishop McDougall.

The Conferences of 1868 attracted their full share of attention in the Church and Press. The *Record* newspaper, never completely reconciled with the Bishop, though in its terror lest liberal bishops should be appointed it had accepted, four years before, the nomination with certain satisfaction, now made a fierce attack on him for his utterances, declaring that their tendency was all in the direction of sacerdotalism, and that such Diocesan Conferences only gave high churchmen a stage whereon to advertise themselves. The attack seems to have touched the Bishop in a sensitive part. There is a letter to him from Dean Stanley, characteristic of the way in which he regarded such newspaper attacks :—

“DEANERY, WESTMINSTER, *December 11th*, 1868.

“MY DEAR LORD,—I am much obliged for your letter. I had perceived that the *Record* had been attacking you, but had been too much accustomed to its fictions in my own case to pay any attention to them in the case of any one else. However, it is, I believe, always worth while to give a direct contradiction to falsifications of *fact*. I once did when, after having delivered a eulogy on Calvin in a public lecture, I was accused by the *Record* of having said that ‘he was an incarnation of the devil.’

“Yours sincerely,
“A. P. STANLEY.”

And the late Archbishop of Canterbury also wrote to comfort him :—

“I have read your printed letter. It is atrocious that you should be exposed to the misrepresentations which

have been circulated. Every one who knows you takes them at their true value, but of course there are people who believe whatever they read in a newspaper, especially if it has the effect of compromising a Bishop.

“Ever yours,

“A. C. LONDON.”

The truth is that the Bishop's sensitive nature made him feel far too acutely the sting even of such criticisms as might from time to time appear in the “religious” journals. It was this delicacy of feeling, in a man whose whole nature yearned for sympathy, and who in all his dealings was scrupulously and sometimes magnanimously just and charitable, which made Bishop Browne's position in the theological troubles of the time one of singular interest. He did what he saw to be right, though he knew that he must thereby come under the censure and criticism of those with whom he mostly thought and acted. In and through all we feel that we are dealing with a man strengthened even to heroism by the power of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER II.

BISHOP COLENZO, AND THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOP TEMPLE.

WHILE Harold Browne was still Norrisian Professor he had taken an active part in the controversy over Bishop Colenso's writings. In knowledge, moderation of tone, and acceptance with Church people, he had by far the best of it ; even those who were inclined to sympathise with Bishop Colenso's views still regretted his manner of setting them forth, and the haste with which he drew his conclusions.

This was the first period of the debate, which then circulated round the Divinity of Christ and of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture. It was, at the outset, a theological controversy ; as, however, the innovating party was headed by a Bishop, it was clear that ere long other matters would come under discussion, and the relation of the Bishop of Natal to his own diocese, to the Bishop of Cape Town, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to the Houses of Convocation, and lastly to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as head of the Anglican community, would have to be carefully considered. The Church of England, little accustomed to real self-government, was at a loss to see how the difficulty should be met. The expansion of the Empire, and the vigorous efforts made by the Church to occupy the ground, had created some difficult problems,

which called for solution ; and lastly, the ill-defined relations between colonial Bishops and the mother-Church, and the uncertainty as to the relations between the chief Bishop in a colony and other Bishops around him, provided ample scope for discord, were any critical case to arise. And then, where did appeals lie? Convocation was but lately restored to life, and could show no precedents ; the authority of the Primate had never been tested by a difficult case ; the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council could deal with questions solely from the legal side ; and, finally, every Bishop had claims of jurisdiction and of independence within his own diocese. Can we wonder that the affair of the Bishop of Natal soon took a complex and difficult character? Orthodox persons of repute hesitated long before they committed themselves to any line of action ; some in the end even felt bound to resist the efforts being made to exclude Bishop Colenso from his See. The high view taken of the episcopal office by Bishop Harold Browne made him very cautious when it was a question of the deposition or excommunication of a Bishop. And there was real need for care ; Bishop Browne knew how easily earnest men, ignorant of, or indifferent about, the constitutional aspect of theological questions, might commit serious injustice ; nothing so certainly called for his protest as the sight of men moving on unconstitutional lines even towards the goal he himself was aiming at. In the early part of 1863 Professor Browne had seen just such a case of zeal outrunning discretion. The Archdeacon of Taunton had moved in Convocation for a Committee to consider the Bishop of Natal's writings, and in the course of his speech had expressed himself in strong language, proclaiming that he desired this Committee, not to enquire into the case, but simply to condemn the writer. Hereupon Professor Browne, feeling it most important that

the man and the book should be treated fairly, and not be "condemned first and tried afterwards," wrote to the Archdeacon to suggest that as he had expressed himself so strongly he would do well not to be chairman of his Committee, but should allow some more neutral person to take the chair, and so avoid all suspicion of unfairness. The Archdeacon was not likely to take this view of the case. He replied that there were three parties in Convocation; the first, to which he himself belonged, was the majority, who held it to be the duty of Convocation to take formal notice of heretical books; the second, the party which, without questioning the right of Convocation to do this, made difficulties about exercising it; and thirdly, the party which thought that under no circumstances ought Convocation to revive the old usage of dealing with heretical books. The committee of nineteen, he said, had ten members of the second and third class, and only nine of the first; and therefore it was necessary for him to be chairman; otherwise the accused person would escape. In other words, condemnation, not trial, was his aim. How a dispassionate observer regarded the results of this committee's sittings may be learnt from a letter, dated May 25th, 1863, from the late Bishop of Carlisle, then Dean of Ely, to his Bishop on the subject. He writes:—

"On thinking of our Convocation Report I am convinced that we made a mistake *in initio*—we ought not to have allowed Denison, or anyone, to present a report cut and dried, prepared before any communication with the committee. I think we should have met as in a Cambridge Syndicate, and talked the matter over, and then commissioned one of our body to draw up a rough sketch of a Report in conformity with the views agreed upon. As it was, we were hampered throughout by the necessity of purging the report from Denison's extravagances, and were

prevented from giving our attention to the construction of a really good report. It is curious on looking over the document to observe how little of Denison's original work remains, and that part about the worst of the report.

"Yours sincerely,

"H. GOODWIN."

When Bishop Gray first went out to the Cape in 1847 he took with him letters patent granting him coercive jurisdiction in his diocese; he also claimed and used the somewhat uncertain title of "Metropolitan of South Africa," so asserting a spiritual and general jurisdiction, which he had no legal power of enforcing. The letters patent came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1863 (in the case of *Long v. Bishop of Cape Town*), and the Committee gave the following decision:—

"That the Bishop's letters patent being issued after constitutional government had been established in the Cape of Good Hope, were ineffectual to create any jurisdiction, ecclesiastical or civil, within the Colony, even if it were the intention of the letters patent to create such a jurisdiction, which they think doubtful."

And this decision was afterwards confirmed by the same body, when the case of the Bishop of Natal was brought before it in 1864 and 1865.

"After establishment of an independent legislature in the Cape of Good Hope and Natal," they say, "there was no power in the Crown by virtue of its prerogative to establish a Metropolitan see or province, or to create an ecclesiastical corporation, whose status, rights, and authority the colony would be required to recognise."

When the question as to the right of Bishop Colenso to his stipend from the Colonial Bishops' Council came before Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, he decided that the Bishop was entitled to it; though he proceeded to explain the judgment of the Judicial Committee in terms

which practically reversed it. Thereupon the Colonial Office consulted the law officers of the Crown, and acting on their advice, ignored Lord Romilly's dictum; holding that the decision of the Judicial Committee was the last word in the controversy, and that no Judge could invalidate it by a later dictum.

The outcome of the discussion before the Judicial Committee was this: that no Bishop (unless he be a Patriarch or an Archbishop) has a right to summon another Bishop to his court or to hold a court on him; that each Bishop in a province is the equal of every other Bishop in it; and that the chief Bishop in the province (whether chief through his own standing or through position of his See) is only "*primus inter pares*," and can be no more. Whence it follows that, in the opinion of the English law, a colonial Bishop, in a colony enjoying a constitution of its own, holds a very independent position in relation to all other Bishops in that colony, and cannot be removed by any one of them, or by all of them in Synod assembled, from the legal possession of his See.

This, it will be understood, was a very grave and difficult position. What was to happen were a Bishop convicted of some serious moral offence, or if he neglected his duties, or if he preached or published heresies? The truth is that in these newly-established Churches these matters had never been brought to test; it had been thought enough to bring the missionary work at the Cape under some episcopal supervision, without attempting to define these questions or to decide wherein lay the ultimate authority over the Bishops. The matter was much complicated also by the semi-established position of the Church of England in the dependencies and colonies of the Crown. The abolition of Established Churches in the colonies was very much advanced by the Colenso troubles. Bishop

Colenso was accused of having published erroneous views on the sufficiency and inspiration of Holy Scripture, and on our Lord's divinity. Here was ground enough for alarm. No wonder that the question was asked, "Who can bring this to trial? to whom is a colonial Bishop responsible? Is it possible that a man can impugn vital doctrines and endanger the English Church in his diocese, and yet that there should be no tribunal before which he can be brought?"

The posture of affairs seemed alarming and even absurd. The colonial Churches had hardly created any ecclesiastical constitutions for themselves; and even if they did, for the emergency, meet in Synod, it would be very hard to say what were their powers, and whether they had any authority over one of the Bishops of the province. On the other hand, an appeal to the Crown, which had appointed the accused Bishop, was not regarded with favour. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has a dreadful habit of regarding matters from the point of view of strict legality, and it also, being the final court of appeal, is very careful as to the accused, giving him the benefit of every doubt, and in spiritual questions interpreting all documents, rubrics, statements of dogma, rules of Church government, as widely as possible. It is therefore naturally unpopular among those who hold that theological questions ought to be decided by theological persons, and especially distasteful to those who think that heretics should first be condemned by the spirituality, and after that handed over to the secular arm for punishment. The accused therefore like the Crown, and fly for refuge to it; the attacking party think that the Crown, in its legal aspect, can have no knowledge of or right to judge respecting matters of faith, and refuse to submit their causes to it. In the case of Bishop Colenso this was made remarkably clear. He had

been appointed by the Crown, and the Crown in this year 1863 had denied to the Bishop of Cape Town any rights as Metropolitan; he therefore appealed to the authority which had granted him his letters patent. Bishop Gray, however, refused absolutely to submit the case to the lawyers at home, and sought to create his own tribunal as Metropolitan, and by it to force Bishop Colenso into subjection.

Besides the Crown and the colonial Church there were two other authorities, the Archbishop of Canterbury as head of the English Church, and the Houses of Convocation; both of which were appealed to in the course of this long controversy.

Bishop Gray had one distinct advantage throughout. He knew his own mind. No one could doubt his complete sincerity; he was strong, determined, resolute, and somewhat narrow; such a man will boldly venture on vigorous action, and defend it fearlessly. The same qualities which go to make a successful general are, however, not the best for bringing a Church out of a difficult and complicated situation. "*Athanasius contra mundum*" (in which "*mundum*" is the State) has an awkward part to play, and finds himself caught in the strong meshes of legal obligation, which he abhors, yet cannot escape from, in spite of all his resolution and vigour.

Bishop Gray began by taking steps which at once made a collision inevitable. He shut his eyes to the legal decision of the Privy Council, which had cancelled his letters patent, and, standing on his supposed Metropolitan powers, summoned Bishop Colenso to appear before him and submit to trial. The Bishop of Natal naturally demurred to this step, refused to appear, protested against the validity of the whole proceeding, and appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The decision of the Privy

Council on the case *Long v. Bishop of Cape Town* was by this time known in Africa, so that Bishop Gray could claim only a general metropolitanical authority which he hoped to enforce over the Bishop of Natal ; accordingly, when that prelate refused to appear, the Bishop of Cape Town pronounced against him a formal sentence of deprivation on December 16th, 1863 ; giving him till April 16th, 1864, in which to retract his appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury. To this Bishop Colenso replied by addressing a letter direct to the Crown, praying Her Majesty to grant him protection against this invasion of his rights "till the letters patent granted to him should be cancelled by due process of law for some sufficient cause of forfeiture, and praying for a declaration of the nullity of the Bishop of Cape Town's powers and proceedings." The two Bishops came over to England in the course of 1864, and brought the strife to a more definite issue. Her Majesty in Council, through the Judicial Committee, took the matter into consideration on June 27th, 1864 ; it came on again in the following December. Bishop Gray and Bishop Colenso were both represented by counsel ; the former under protest, denying that Her Majesty in Council had any jurisdiction in the matter, or that any appeal lay from his act of deposition either to the Queen or to the Privy Council.

Judgment was given by Lord Westbury on March 20th, 1865 ; and, though exception may be taken to the way in which he handled the matter, there can be no doubt that the decision was legally correct. It again declared the Bishop of Cape Town's letters patent to be null and void, and laid it down that the law of England recognised no such authority as he claimed ; that his metropolitanical rights could not be acknowledged by the law ; and that the deposition of one Bishop by another was legally null and void also. It became clear that in all matters of

discipline Churches in self-ruling colonies would have to create their own laws and regulations. It was also clear that the relations between Church and State were beginning to enter on an entirely new phase, now that the Queen in Council declared that she did not recognise these spiritual persons, or regard them as being under those limitations and restrictions which have been placed by the State round the action of the Church at home.

The Natal clergy now on the whole declared warmly against Bishop Colenso, and expressed their sympathy with Bishop Gray. In England also the Houses of Convocation were much moved. They thanked Bishop Gray, and dissevered themselves from the Bishop of Natal's writings. While however they rejoiced in the stand made against false doctrine, they carefully avoided affirming the legality of the proceedings taken by the Bishop of Cape Town. The Upper House was naturally very sensitive as to the rights and position of a Bishop within his See, and would not say that the somewhat shadowy "Metropolitical" authority of the Bishop of Cape Town enabled him to depose a neighbouring Bishop. While Convocation strongly condemned Bishop Colenso's books, it hesitated to advise that proceedings should be taken at law against the author. All the Bishop of Cape Town's urgency could not elicit from Convocation more than a general statement of disapproval of Bishop Colenso's opinions, and of warm sympathy with his opponent: it never committed itself, then or later, to an actual approval of the steps Bishop Gray had so boldly taken.

Matters could not rest here: towards the end of 1865, the Bishop of Natal returned to his diocese, determined to defy his neighbour, and to officiate, as usual, in his Cathedral Church. Hereon Bishop Gray threatened him with excommunication; and, as he refused to give way,

on January 5th, 1866, the Dean of Maritzburg read, from the Cathedral altar, the sentence of the greater excommunication against John William Colenso.

As Bishop Colenso refused to submit to either deprivation or excommunication, a schism in the Church of South Africa appeared imminent, for a certain minority clung to him, and the natives ever remembered the manly way in which he had been their friend and champion. The Bishop of Cape Town now, in combination with the Dean of Maritzburg, submitted to the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury three questions:—

1. "Whether the Church of England holds communion with Dr. Colenso and the heretical Church he is seeking to establish in Natal, or whether it is in communion with the orthodox Bishops who in synod declared him to be *ipso facto* excommunicated?" 2. "Whether the acceptance of a new Bishop on the part of the Church in Natal, whilst Dr. Colenso still retains the letters patent of the Crown, would in any way sever us from the mother Church of England?" And 3. "Supposing that the reply to the last question was that they would not so be severed, what are the proper steps which the diocese should take to obtain a new Bishop?"

It is at this point that the influence of the Bishop of Ely begins to be felt. He certainly was not prejudiced in favour of the Bishop of Natal. Now, however, when it appeared to him and the more cool-headed of the English prelates, that Bishop Gray's course of action was fraught with danger to the independence of the episcopate, he intervened, and urged moderate counsels on the somewhat heated Upper House. Bishop Wilberforce brought forward a motion, warmly urging the Bishops to support Bishop Gray. The majority in both Houses of Convocation were eager to follow his lead. Four Bishops, however, intervened and checked the movement.

These were the Bishop of London, Dr. Tait ; Thirlwall, Bishop of St. Davids ; Jackson, Bishop of Lincoln, and the Bishop of Ely. They all emphatically condemned Colenso's utterances ; in principle they sympathised with the Bishop of Cape Town, but they urged with great force that he was wrong in his method of action. Bishop Tait, speaking with that weight and statesmanlike spirit which distinguished him, said that there was this fault in Bishop Gray's character, that he was not content with merely holding his opinions, but that he must try to make every other person hold them too. "And therefore I do not wish to endow him with absolute authority over the Church in the colony over which he presides." He then goes on to enquire what the Bishop ought to have done ; and replies that—

"his proceedings being declared null and void in law, it would be the right course for him to reconsider the matter and to endeavour to institute such proceedings as may be sustained by law ; and I do not believe that any difficulty stands in the way of his pursuing such a course."

Bishop Harold Browne also strongly urged Convocation not to accept the Bishop of Oxford's motion. As the speech he made on this occasion is a somewhat memorable expression of his constitutional way of looking at Church questions, it is here partly reproduced from the Chronicle of Convocation for 1866, p. 512.

After some introductory remarks he points out that the House must consider the effect of its decision on the constitution of the Colonial Church and its future.

"We are asked to endorse Bishop Gray's judgment in Synod on Bishop Colenso. This involves the question whether the Bishop of Cape Town is legally or ecclesiastically Metropolitan of South Africa, and, if so, how far his powers go. It does appear to me to be of great

consequence for the future prosperity of the Church in the colonies, that all questions connected with the establishment of provinces and Metropolitans in the colonies should be carefully weighed before anything is done which should fix them for the future."

He then digresses into the earlier history of Metropolitans, and shews how large were the powers of the Archbishop of Canterbury as such. He next points out that the patent to the Bishop of Natal gave the Bishop of Cape Town, as Metropolitan, the same powers as the Archbishop has. Under the belief that he had these powers, Bishop Gray had acted. But then these powers had been legally declared null and void ; so that the Bishop of Cape Town really had not the legal authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Bishop Gray argues that virtually, though not legally, he still had these powers. But then, he has performed acts which are shown to be neither legally valid nor constitutional.

Bishop Gray also claims that there is no appeal from him, either to the Archbishop or to the Crown ; and, in fact, he claims more for Cape Town than is actually claimed and exercised by Canterbury. The Bishop of Ely then declares that the Bishops who advised the Crown to make Bishop Gray Metropolitan could never have meant to give him powers so far-reaching and autocratic, and that therefore he has no legal or moral right to claim them. "Then comes the whole question, If he is not Metropolitan, he could not by right as Metropolitan summon the Synod, and the judgment he gives would not be legally or ecclesiastically a valid judgment." And, though the Bishop holds that Bishop Colenso was heretical, he still cannot go so far as Bishop Gray wishes in his motions. If the Synod of Canterbury is to endorse all the acts of the Synod of Cape Town, that Bishop will have greater powers

than Canterbury enjoys, and that without appeal. This would be most injurious to the Colonies. The Colonial Churches in their independent state ought to go back to the precedents of the Church before Constantine. These precedents would not carry out the claims of the Bishop of Cape Town. It would be most dangerous to endorse those claims to great powers, to be exercised without appeal. The Bishop also shows that it would be doubtful to say that the Church refuses to "hold communion with Dr. Colenso" and the heretical church; it is also wrong to call him *Dr. Colenso*: he is still Bishop Colenso, whether he is Bishop of Natal or not. And he concludes by saying:—

(1) "That I do not like to speak of one who is still a Bishop as though he were deprived not only of his diocese but of his episcopate; (2) That I do not like to denounce as excommunicate all who, it may be knowingly or it may be ignorantly, have communicated with him; but (3) Chiefly, I do not like by this resolution to anticipate the future of the Colonial Church, and so possibly involve it in greater difficulties."

Bishop Gray and his friends could not let the matter rest here. Convocation, instead of applauding his vigorous measures, had passed them by without committing itself to either approval or censure; the tension increased. Bishop Colenso invited his accuser to submit the whole matter to a proper ecclesiastical tribunal in England; and to this the Bishop of Cape Town replied by refusing to recognise the validity of the English Courts or their jurisdiction over him *in spiritualibus*. His view was, apparently, that he and his Synod at Cape Town had rightly passed judgment on the heresies of a Bishop under him as Metropolitan; that this judgment also excluded the condemned Bishop from his temporalities; and that the

letters patent of the Crown might be set altogether aside. This hopelessly wrong position he held throughout, though the law protected Bishop Colenso from some of the effects of it. In order to secure for the Church people of Natal an orthodox bishop, Bishop Gray prepared for two things ; first, for an appeal from Convocation to the Lambeth Conference (about to be held for the first time in 1867), so as to obtain, if he could, the formal approval of the whole Anglican Episcopate ; and secondly, for the appointment of an independent Bishop for Natal, by which act he hoped to assert to the world that his deprivation of Bishop Colenso had actually vacated the See.

The Bishop of London, Tait, whose statesmanlike temper was very galling to the hotter spirits in the violent controversies of the time, stood out bravely against this narrowing of liberty of opinion within the Church. He seems too to have understood, as few did, the critical nature of the time, in which these young Churches in the colonies were feeling their way towards an independent life. There was great risk lest, under the influence of some strong leader of a provincial Church, the just limits within which opinion might oscillate safely should be unwisely narrowed, and orthodoxy guaranteed at the cost of thought. It was unfortunate that Bishop Colenso's language had endangered these essential liberties. It was felt that he had strained the endurance of the Church, and yet that the measures taken against him were full of danger. And so Bishop Tait did a wise thing, which nevertheless brought on him violent remonstrance and even abuse from those who refused to allow that there were two sides to the Colenso question. He endeavoured to arrive at an impression as to the state of opinion respecting the Colenso difficulty in the colonies. After

stating that he considered the moment one of great risk to the whole colonial Church, and pointing out that in Natal there was one Bishop who was a heretic, and another about to be consecrated who, in the eye of the law, would be schismatic, he threw out the view that the clergy of that uneasy diocese ought to be the nominees of the Church Missionary Society, placed immediately under the Archbishop of Canterbury ; a view which in the actual state of colonial liberties, civil and ecclesiastical, was not likely to meet with much acceptance. He then issued a circular of enquiry, which elicited a mass of evidence as to colonial opinion ; shewing that, with the exception of the Bishop of Cape Town's own diocese, there was much dissatisfaction at the action of that resolute prelate. Bishop Tait was thus confirmed in his view that the bulk of colonial opinion was unfavourable to Bishop Gray's pretensions and acts. Men were not anxious to see the colonial Churches shake themselves free from their connection with the august traditions and vigorous life of the Primacy of Canterbury.

Soon after this, in September 1867, the first "Pan-Anglican" Conference took place at Lambeth. Some of the English Bishops, eager above all things for peace, desired that the Colenso affair might be excluded from discussion. Archbishop Sumner gave them an assurance that it should be so, and it was omitted from the programme. But when men are much in earnest it is impossible to keep down matters on which their thoughts are fixed. And, consequently, it was not long before a determined effort was made to obtain an expression of opinion on the subject. The Bishop of St. David's resisted the introduction of this debatable matter, and urged that, after the Archbishop had consented to its exclusion, it was a breach of faith. The Bishop of New Zealand, Dr.

Selwyn, thereupon attacked Bishop Thirlwall, because in a recently published Charge he had reflected somewhat severely on Bishop Gray's proceedings; the Bishop of London came to the defence of the Bishop of St. David's; and Bishop Harold Browne followed on the same side with a warm eulogy of Bishop Thirlwall, in which he declared him to be "not only the most learned prelate in Europe, but probably the most learned Prelate who has ever presided over any See."

The effort to keep out the Colenso question failed, and a discussion followed. The three or four Bishops who set themselves to stem the tide were as temperate as brave. The Bishop of Oxford circulated for signature a paper against Colenso. This neither Bishop Tait nor the Bishop of Ely would sign, "on the ground that a Metropolitan had no power to depose a Bishop, as Gray had done, even under pure ecclesiastical law."

To the Bishop of Tennessee Bishop Harold Browne addressed a letter in which he lays down the principles on which he, and the other Bishops in opposition, regarded the whole matter. The letter was not written for some time after the Congress.

"ELY HOUSE, *April 28th*, 1868.

"MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,—You asked me once to put on paper what I said to you about the Natal question. I believe it was nearly as follows:

"Supposing the Church of South Africa to be now no more a part or dependency of the Church of England than the Episcopal Church of Scotland or the Protestant Episcopal Church of America; then, if the Bishop of Cape Town, as Metropolitan or presiding Bishop, informs me that one of the South African Bishops has been excommunicated and deposed, and that another Bishop has been elected and consecrated in his room, I should have no more hesitation in accepting and acting on such information than I should have if the like information were

given me by the presiding Bishop of the Church in the United States. I should consider the deposed Bishop as not to be admitted into my diocese, and I should acknowledge the Bishop consecrated in his room.

"The present difficulty, however, is of a different kind. The Bishop of Cape Town has appealed to the English Bishops and the English Convocations to pronounce upon the spiritual validity of the deposition of Bishop Colenso.

"Now, there lies no appeal from the Bishops of South Africa and the Synod of South Africa to the Bishops or Synods of the Primacies of Canterbury and York. At the same time, I do not deny that, when there is a grievous heresy in an infant Church, the Bishops of that Church may reasonably ask for sympathy and countenance from Churches in communion with them. I am therefore willing to express all possible sympathy with the suffering Church of South Africa, and to state my own opinion that Bishop Colenso is bound in all good faith to withdraw from a position which he cannot hold consistently with his ordination vows.

"But then, the Bishops of South Africa ask that the English Bishops and the English Convocations should pronounce authoritatively on the validity of the deposition. This, I believe, involves questions of the gravest difficulty. I am quite willing to accept the deposition as stated to me by the authorities by whom it was pronounced. But if I am asked to declare, in my own person and in my place as a Bishop, that the deposition was legal and valid, I feel that all the knotty questions concerning Metropolitan power, and the right of a Metropolitan to depose his comprovincial Bishops, and the exact nature of the proceedings at Cape Town, must be entered into. The distinction between 'legal' and 'spiritual' deposition is surely a distinction without a difference. If a Bishop be deposed according to the laws and canons of the Church, legally binding on that Church, he is truly, legally, canonically, spiritually deposed. If he be not legally and canonically deposed, then he cannot be spiritually deposed. That which is bound on earth, by the lawful authority of those empowered to bind, is also bound in Heaven. Hence, I am unable to see that it is a simple and easy thing to say whether a person has been spiritually deposed, leaving further questions of legal deposition to ecclesiastical courts.

If a person be deposed by a tribunal having authority to depose, there being no appeal, or no appeal being instituted, then he is spiritually deposed, and not otherwise. This is universally true in Churches not established, as much as in those which have more or less union with a State. I believe it is agreed by all canonists that the deposition of a Bishop is very far from being a simple thing. *Jure divino*, a Bishop has no spiritual superior on earth; *jure ecclesiastico*, he may have an ecclesiastical superior; but that ecclesiastical superior certainly had no deposing power till there arose that very tangled relation between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities which was inaugurated by the accession of the Roman Emperor to the Christian faith, and which the Church materially modified by encouraging appeals to the Roman See. There is good reason to think that in the mediæval Church no deposition of a Bishop was valid without the authority of the Pope. In the Reformed Church of England there exists the very complicated case of the deposition of Watson, Bishop of St. David's. There are many reasons why this cannot be a perfect precedent in the present instance. It seems necessary, if possible, to determine what would have been the process where neither imperial nor papal authority could have come in to supplement metropolitical power, *i.e.*, before the Council of Sardica, and perhaps even before the Council of Nice.

"I may of course be wrong in seeing all these difficulties. You know me well enough not to doubt that I hold all heresy in dread. Yet I would rather leave it to the Judge of all men to vindicate His own truth, than attempt to decide on a question laden with such important consequences, and to pronounce a decision with imperfect means of forming a judgment.

"I have never doubted the high Christian motives of the Bishop of Cape Town and of his comprovincial Bishops. I could earnestly have wished that some of those who have thrown themselves into the controversy had not been actuated by a desire to destroy that which I believe has been to England her greatest blessing, and which can only be lost to her with the loss of all that has made her religious and great and free. If Anglicanism fails as Gallicanism has failed, the choice left to us here and in Europe will be between Romanism and Rationalism. There are not a few who desire this; and they have made

free use of this Colenso scandal to advance their designs. May the God of truth and peace pardon, preserve, and purify us.

“ Believe me ever, my dear Bishop,

“ Your affectionate Brother,

“ E. H. ELY.

“ THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF TENNESSEE.”

At this point, as we have now reached the closing scenes of this tangled controversy, we may insert (though it was written a year and a half before the above letter) a letter from Bishop Browne to the Bishop of Cape Town, because it contains, in full detail, the principles on which he guided his action throughout this troubled time. It is a luminous account of his own position, and shows how tenaciously he clung to the established rules of Church order.

“ ELY, *September* 1866.

“ MY DEAR LORD,—I am very sorry I could not answer your letter by the last post. I quite see how those amongst us who expressed ourselves as wishing for time to consider the questions you submitted to us, may appear to you lukewarm and unfaithful. As regards the charge of ignorance which our brother of Oxford somewhat hastily made against us, I am satisfied to be in the same boat with the Bishop of St. David's, whom I believe to be without any comparison the most learned prelate in Christendom, both in sacred and profane learning. As to other matters, I can most solemnly protest, that I am neither indifferent to the troubles and trials of the Church in South Africa, nor heedless of the terrible advances of heresy and infidelity which threaten us both at home and abroad. But I believe that never were graver or more difficult questions submitted to the Synod of Canterbury than those which you submitted to us, and I was very unwilling that they should be answered hastily.

“ We are entering on an entirely new era, at least as regards the colonial Church and its whole future ; perhaps the whole future of Christendom may be affected by what is doing now. The colonial Church is, as I think, placed in a position in which no Church has been since Constantine

made Christianity the religion of the Empire. This very materially influences the question, which concerns the power of Metropolitans and of Provincial Synods.

"The history of Metropolitans I take to be this. There is very little evidence of the existence of Metropolitans for the first three centuries. Without doubt we find certain Bishops, those of Rome especially, of Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, etc., taking a lead or primacy among their brother Bishops. The thirty-fourth Canon of the Canons of the Apostles (Canons of doubtful authority and of uncertain date, though revered from their traditional name) speaks of one Bishop as a *Primus* in his nature, and bids other Bishops esteem him as their head, do nothing of great moment, *præter illius sententiam*, but only do those things which concern their own dioceses and their subject Pagi, enjoining at the same time the Primus to do nothing *absque omnium sententia*. This is the first synodical (if it be synodical) confirmation of anything like metropolitanical authority. In the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, provinces, the constitution of Bishops of the provinces, and confirmation by the Metropolitan, are recognised by Canon IV. Excommunication to be by *all* the Bishops of a province is enjoined by Canon IV. The four great Metropolitans of Alexandria, Rome, Antioch, and Ælia are recognised in Canons VI., VII. In the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, Constantinople is given the same honour as Rome (Canon XXVIII.), whilst Canon IX. has this remarkable provision: 'If a cleric has a controversy with a Bishop, he shall be judged by the Provincial Synod. *If a Bishop or cleric has a controversy with a Metropolitan, he shall appeal to the Patriarch or to the throne of the Imperial City* (i.e., either Rome or Constantinople).' These were the decrees of general councils concerning Metropolitans. The Council of Antioch (a great council, not Œcumenical, not generally acknowledged, held A.D. 341, seventeen years after Nice) says (Canon IX.): '*Oportet Episcopos nihil momenti aggredi absque sententia Metropolitanæ, nec ipse sine sententia religiosorum Episcoporum, vide Can. XXXIV.*'; which is supposed to be a reference to the Canon of the Apostles.

"These Canons appear to me to constitute the charter of Metropolitans in the first five centuries; all of them, however, except Canon XXXIV. of the Apostles, are subsequent to the adoption of Christianity by the Empire.

You will observe, too, that all of them enjoin Metropolitans to do nothing without their brother Bishops, as much as they enjoin Bishops to do nothing without their Metropolitans; and the Fourth General Council of Chalcedon expressly provides for an appeal to the Patriarch.

"After ages gave, no doubt, far greater power to Metropolitans. There arose a more regular system of successive steps in the ministry,—minor orders, then deacons, priests, bishops, metropolitans, patriarchs, pope. The latter in Europe absorbed all ultimate power. The Archbishop of Canterbury, however, was of patriarchal authority, called by the Pope *alterius orbis Papa*, and said by great lawyers to have had a jurisdiction equal to that of the patriarch of Constantinople (Chief Justice Holt in *Lacy v. Bishop of St. David's*). Accordingly, in the case of the Bishop of St. David's, Watson, it was held that he had power to depose after trial his suffragans, though not without appeal. All this access of power to Patriarchs and Metropolitans grew up after, and generally owing to, the connection with the Empire and the State.

Now the Crown, advised by the Bishops, attempted to confer on the Bishop of Cape Town metropolitical power equal to that of Canterbury (neither Crown nor Bishop knew what was meant by this). They *tried*, but according to the judgment of the Privy Council they failed; for it was *ultra vires*. The Crown could not give coercive jurisdiction in South Africa, either to a Bishop or to a Metropolitan. The patent, therefore, so far as coercive jurisdiction goes, is null and void. It is argued that, though the Canon did not give it, the Church, as represented by the English Bishops, meant to give it. But intention is not act. It was never legally or ecclesiastically conferred by Crown or Bishop.

"It is said, again, that Canon XXXIV. of the Apostles and Canon IX. of Antioch establish the principle that there shall be a Metropolitan in every nation, who shall do nothing without the other Bishops, and without whom the other Bishops shall do nothing of moment. On this ground it is said the Bishop of Cape Town without any appointment became Metropolitan. I have no wish to dispute this, though it may be open to dispute. But what I wish to point out is, that this necessarily throws us back to primitive times. Papal power, the power of the Regale, and all such powers, are repudiated as regards our colonial

Churches. That great fabric of bishops, metropolitans, patriarchs, with a doubtful and disputed authority of sovereigns and popes or œcumenical patriarchs above them all, has crumbled away. It can never be right to pick up fragments of it and call them a whole temple. Where can we go but to the example of the Church before Constantine, at all events before Papal usurpation? I should say before either, when neither the Crown nor the Pope claimed to be the ultimate resort in all cases ecclesiastical. In the English Church at home there may be no danger from the immense authority of the Archbishop as shown in the above cited case (of *Lacy v. Bishop of St. David's*), because there is an appeal from the regularly constituted court of the Archbishop to a Final Court of Appeal, if not, in the case of a Bishop, to the House of Lords also. But at present South Africa has no appeal from its Metropolitan to the Patriarch, to a great Council, or to a Final Court. If the Metropolitan has an authority equal to the Archbishop of Canterbury, it is an absolute authority without appeal. And this is some excuse for Bishop Colenso in refusing to submit to the Bishop of Cape Town, after he had admitted him to be Metropolitan. He took the oath on a false representation. He swore obedience to the Bishop of Cape Town, believing that an appeal lay from him to Canterbury, and thence to the Final Court. All which has been quashed by the late decision. I conclude, therefore, that primitive examples and primitive principles may be resorted to, if the colonial Church is not to go altogether wrong. Now primitive principles are partly exhibited in the Canons I have quoted above, but there is another Canon which greatly illustrates them, and which specially bears on the *African Church*. In the great Council of Carthage, held A.D. 348, attended by Bishops *from every province of Africa*, it was decreed by universal consent (Canon XI.) that a Bishop *should not be judged by fewer than twelve Bishops*.

"Now, my dear Lord, all this has led me to think, not that your sentence was unjust, but that it is very doubtful whether, on principles of law civil or ecclesiastical, a Metropolitan, in a Church neither Papal nor established by law, with only one Bishop of his own province and one Bishop out of the province as assessors, has power to depose or excommunicate an heretical Bishop. It may be said and is said, that great emergencies require prompt measures. But they must be constitutional and legal measures or you

defend the faith in a single instance and condemn a single heretic at the risk of introducing a system of misrule and subverting all great principles of right. We read history to no purpose if we do not see that great and good men in their zeal to extirpate heresy in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries raised up a power intended to crush error, but which for many centuries after stifled truth. There is as thick a shadow now passing over the Church as ever arose before the darkness of the Papacy settled on it. I hold that it is not cowardice, but farseeing caution, that would try to disperse it by falling back on the light of primitive truth. It is very painful to me to differ in any way from you when I so highly esteem your zeal for the faith of Christ; but I dare not act against my own strong convictions of right.

“I am, my dearest Lord,

“Yours very truly,

“E. H. ELY.

“TO THE LORD BISHOP OF CAPE TOWN.”

To this long and weighty statement of his views the Bishop of Cape Town replied by reasserting his position in strong terms, though he does not endeavour to traverse Bishop Browne's arguments. It will be seen at once how wide a gulf yawned between the two prelates; Harold Browne, champion of order, appealing to law and precedent and the structure of the Church; Bishop Gray claiming to go behind all such matters, as savouring of the “Erastian” character of Anglicanism, and endeavouring to build himself up on Canon Law. It was the natural difference between an “established Bishop” at home and a colonial Bishop eager to be entirely emancipated from State control. No wonder that Dean Stanley, seeing these things and whither they led, was one of the most determined supporters of a Church “as by law established.” It seemed to him that a disestablished Church of England might be the death of all intellectual life and freedom of treatment of theological questions by religious persons.

In his reply the Bishop of Cape Town claims to rule over his Church (not only over his diocese, but, as Metropolitan, over the whole South African Church) by the rules of Canon Law, as it was "received in England in the seventh and eighth centuries by the ecclesiastical and temporal powers." By that law, he says, the Metropolitan sitting in his Provincial Synod had power to deprive a Suffragan; and "after Canon Law," Bishop Colenso, as he did not appeal, was actually deprived. It must be remembered that this was the true point at issue; for Colenso altogether challenged the jurisdiction, first declaring that he refused to be ruled by Canon Law, and, secondly, denying that he was a Suffragan of the Cape Town Metropolitan. Throughout Bishop Gray's reply his scorn for the legal aspects of the case appears. "I have no faith in lawyers," he cries. "A few days among the Canonists will do more for us than all their legal knowledge." The constitutional aspects of the case were in his eyes of no importance: he felt that he was constructing a new edifice; that the old rules and methods applied no longer; that such opinions as Dr. Colenso's would be fatal; that the new Church in the Colonies must shake itself free from the patronage and trammels of the State, from the taint of "the lawyers." His language is strong, his mind made up, his aim a noble if a narrow one; but argument there is none, and his denunciations of Bishop Colenso as a man whose teaching is anti-Christian, and as one who does not believe in the Godhead of our Lord, shew the spirit in which he was prepared to break through all bonds—cobwebs he would have called them—by which the legal and constitutional mind in England was endeavouring to control his movements, and to see that justice should be done.

Bishop Harold Browne's constitutional and somewhat

technical way of defending the rights of Bishops was sure to give much offence to partisans. A gentleman of some learning and great zeal for orthodoxy, Dr. Littledale, wrote to him to assure him that his opinions were unsound on the subject of the Eucharist, and ends with the following piece of intolerance :—

“I conclude by saying that under ordinary circumstances I should think myself bound to publish this correspondence; but I fear in the present crisis that such a persistent determination to close an open question and to refuse to repair an injustice as your Lordship has displayed, would unsettle some weak minds, already disturbed by that gross misprision of heresy displayed by several members of the Episcopate in the Colenso scandal. I therefore take a middle course, and will put these letters into the hands of a member of the Upper House of Convocation, to deal with as he shall think best.

“*February 29th, 1868.*”

With which awful and indefinite sentence of judgment we may leave Dr. Littledale in possession of the field. The Bishop, so far as we know, made no reply.

It is interesting, in considering the progress of opinion in England, to find that we have also a very different view of the case taken by Dean Stanley, whose letters to our Bishop, as those of a friend of Bishop Colenso, may well appear in this place. He writes from the Deanery, Westminster, February 18th, 1868 :—

“MY DEAR LORD,—I venture to address you, as being the only Bishop with whom I have held any direct communication on the subject in question, under an apprehension which, if it be mistaken, you will pardon.

“I gather from the correspondence lately published by the Bishop of Cape Town that it is not impossible that there may be a private discussion amongst the Bishops on the question whether any proceedings should be set on foot by them with a view to removing the Bishop of

Natal from his post on the ground of theological opinions, for which he was condemned by the Bishop of Cape Town.

"It would be presumption in me to make any remarks on the propriety of such a course in itself. But I think it only due to myself, and to the interests involved, to point out to your Lordship, and to ask your Lordship to point out to the other prelates who may be concerned, that in the speech on the South African Controversy delivered by me in Convocation on June 29th, 1866 (a copy of which was transmitted to all the Bishops assembled at Lambeth in September last), I have stated that I, in common with many other clergymen of the Church of England, hold, in principle, the opinions for which the Bishop of Natal was condemned in South Africa by the Bishop of Cape Town, and which the Bishop of Cape Town has again recapitulated in his recent letters as the grounds of that condemnation.

"I refer particularly to pp. 41-59 of my speech, and pp. 65-67 of my postscript.

"Your Lordship will understand that I do not call your attention to this fact as furnishing any reason why proceedings against the Bishop of Natal, if so be, should not take effect; but only to show that, in common fairness, they must, if instituted at all, take a much wider sweep; and that, if the object be to ascertain the legal position of those who hold such views, common sense and Christian justice require that this should be ascertained in the case not of one who is the subject of much odium and obloquy, but of those on whom the same question can be tried without the influence of extrinsic and distracting forces, such as those to which I have adverted. The kindness with which your Lordship received the former communications which I had with you on this subject encourages me to believe that you will understand the spirit in which I now address you, and will at any rate be my apology for taking this mode of discharging what I feel to be a duty to the Church. I remain, my dear Lord,

"Yours faithfully and respectfully,

"A. P. STANLEY."

To this the Bishop replied in a very courteous and friendly spirit; and Dean Stanley resumes the subject in

a second letter from the Deanery, dated February 13th, 1868:—

“MY DEAR LORD,—Your letter was even kinder than I expected; but it confirms me still more strongly in the desire that you should consider my letter to your Lordship as matter to be brought forward in any discussion that takes place amongst the Bishops on the theological merits of the Natal question.

“You are good enough to suggest that I do myself and the Bishop of Natal injustice by representing myself as entirely coinciding with his views. I should agree with you on this point. But I have taken particular pains in my speech and postscript to guard against this (in pp. 35-40, 50, 54, 64, 70), and in so doing have used terms of disparagement towards the Bishop, of which I for one hesitate as to their propriety, considering that they are used of a Bishop by a presbyter. What I insist on is quite a different proposition,—viz., that however much I may differ from the Bishop of Natal on other points, I have both in previous writings, and especially in my speech (pp. 41-60, 65-67), expressed my concurrence (in which I have no doubt that hundreds would concur also) with the Bishop *exactly on those points on which he has been condemned and deposed* by the Bishop of Cape Town, and which the Bishop of Cape Town has recapitulated clearly enough in his recent Letters (pp. 31, 32), though with his own hard constructions. I need not do more than refer your Lordship to the passages, and I cannot but think that you will see the justice of my plea. I have little doubt that the Bishop of Cape Town himself (except, it may be, from mere motives of policy) would fully admit that this was the case; or would, if possible, depose me (indeed, for all that I know he may have ‘spiritually’ deposed me already) on the same grounds as those on which he has deposed the Bishop of Natal. I therefore think that my very difference from the Bishop of Natal on other points makes it the more incumbent for any discussions on this question to take into consideration the fact that I, with many other persons, some of whom I have cited by name, coincide with the Bishop of Natal on the very points on which he has been deposed, and whatever consequences flow from such a fact.

"I have one other point to which I would call your Lordship's attention. I cannot but think that, if you look at Bishop Colenso's work on the Pentateuch, Part III., pp. 25-28, your Lordship will see that his position with regard to the questions in the Ordination Service is entirely different from that which you suppose, and that he takes up what I confess appears to me the only tenable position which can be maintained by any one who believes that the Bible contains any poetical or parabolical books, even without raising any questions as to interpolation or accuracy in the prose books.

"You will, therefore, I hope, see that, whilst I quite claim the character of an independent witness who differs from the Bishop of Natal on many important points, I feel bound to indicate that, on almost all the points (I believe all except that of the endless duration of future punishment) [for which] the Bishop of Natal has been deposed by the Bishop of Cape Town, I have expressed concurrence with him, on principle.

"With many thanks, believe me to be,

"Yours sincerely,

"A. P. STANLEY."

After the Canterbury Convocation had recognised the validity of the deposition of the Bishop of Natal, it only remained for Bishop Gray to make arrangements for the election and consecration of a Bishop for the See. It was clear that, as the Bishop of Natal refused to resign, the upshot of it must be a painful schism, at least for a time, in the diocese. This had to be faced; and Bishop Gray felt no hesitation about it. The Natal clergy and laity who adhered to him and the Dean of Maritzburg elected the Rev. W. J. Butler, then Vicar of Wantage, afterwards Dean of Lincoln: he, however, declined the nomination. They then chose the Rev. W. R. Macrorie, Vicar of Accrington, who accepted. The position taken up by the four protesting Bishops so far influenced their brethren on the Bench, that the Archbishops declined to consecrate the prelate-elect; and the Scottish Bishops, when appealed

to, after some uncertainty also determined not to commit themselves. Consequently (and probably with considerable satisfaction at the result) Bishop Gray sailed for the Cape in the autumn of 1868, carrying with him his Bishop-designate. On January 25th, 1869, in the Cathedral Church of Cape Town, Dr. Macrorie was consecrated "Bishop of the Church in Natal and Zululand, in communion with the Bishops of the province of South Africa, and with the Church of England." The new Bishop took his title, rightly, from Maritzburg, the town in which his Cathedral Church stood, and not from the name of the colony. The rift in the Church continued long, though after the Bishop of Natal's death the main cause of it was removed. It was not till the year 1893, when a new Bishop for Natal, the Rev. Hamilton Baynes, was consecrated, that the wound seemed likely to heal up. It is pleasing to be able to add, as a kind of epitaph on the subject, that when in 1883 tidings came of Bishop Colenso's death, our Bishop took notice of it thus in a letter to Bishop McDougall:—"I am afraid poor Colenso's death will be a great sorrow to Mrs. McDougall and to you all. It caused me some pangs of sorrow, for I had always a regard for him, though I deplored the course he took."

The active controversy lasted about seven years : it had marked effects on the relation between colonial Churches and the mother-Church of England. What Dr. Gray thought of this appears very clearly from the explosion of feeling with which he greeted the proposal that Bishop Tozer should take the oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury and not to the Metropolitan of South Africa. He resisted the same claim in the case of Bishop Mackenzie, declaring that he could not be received as a Bishop of the province of South Africa if

he took that oath to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Bishop Wilkinson in 1870 did, as a matter of fact, take the oath to the Archbishop of York, and the Archbishop explained that it was to be transferred to the Metropolitan of South Africa by a new oath of obedience to be taken to him. Though Bishop Gray objected to this rather singular arrangement of oath-transfer, the thing was done so, and nothing happened.

It had long been seen that the attempt to organise the missionary and colonial Sees straight from Canterbury, and as established Churches, could not last. The clergy-reserves in Canada had been left a wilderness, while all around them was taken up and cultivated; it was not till the State's hand was removed that the vigour of the colonial Churches began to bear fruit. State endowments grew unpopular and precarious early in the reign of our Queen. The Church in India, hampered and well-nigh strangled by the fears and restrictions of the Company, slowly and surely won independence; the lessons of the Lambeth Conferences, at which there were far more Bishops of unestablished Anglican Churches than those of the Established Church, taught the slow-thinking English mind that, however excellent at home, an Established Church had no charms for either the United States or for the self-ruling colonies of the Crown.

And it was abundantly clear that each provincial Church must be allowed, sooner or later, to fashion its own life. Statesmen naturally desired to see the colonial Churches as closely attached as possible to England, and regretted the vehemence with which at times the young communities seemed likely to snap the bonds that bound them to the little Island in the Western Sea. Still it was seen that the conditions of ecclesiastical life in England could not be reproduced in the more independent colonies; and,

however much we may regret the violence with which the Bishop of Cape Town fought his battle, we must allow that the effects of the struggle were wholesome, and that colonial liberties, conceded so willingly in things temporal, could not be denied to Churchmen. The Anglican Church, if only it be wise and temperate, will play no mean part in the federation of the English-speaking world. But ecclesiastically as well as constitutionally, that federation must always be held together more by convictions, interests, and affection, than by exact and formal bonds. The federated States will control their own development; the united Churches will show variations suited to the very varied conditions of their work. Yet in both Churches and States, essentials will be in unity, and the harmony the more genuine by reason of the differences in growth and development. In the Churches there will be one spirit, though the forms be modified; one main principle of loyalty to the gospel of Jesus Christ; a general unity of form of Church Government; and a communion in worship and faith, which will, let us hope and pray, bind us all together in bonds unbreakable of Christian charity, effort, and holiness.

No sooner was this painful controversy at an end than the Bishop of Ely found himself involved in another difficulty. Dr. Temple, Headmaster of Rugby School, author of the first paper in "Essays and Reviews," in 1869 accepted the bishopric of Exeter. The bishopric of Bath and Wells being vacant at the same time, the Crown had appointed Lord Arthur Hervey to it; and the two new Bishops were to be consecrated together. Lord Arthur begged that Harold Browne might be one of the consecrating prelates, and he consented. No sooner was this made known than protests came in. Some begged Bishop Browne to take no part in "consecrating

a Mitre in Essays and Reviews ;” others cried to him to beware of the “Septem contra Christum,” that malignant and unjust parody ; not a few of the clergy of his diocese remonstrated—one Rural Dean sent him the terrible threat that he would resign his ruridecanal office, and refuse to serve any longer under him. There was every symptom of a revival of the white heat of passion, and of the white pallor of fear, which works even more evil than anger. Though he met these outcries with reasonable and charitable replies, the clamour went on to the end. It is not reassuring to look back at the rage and terror with which the appointment of a single broad-shouldered Churchman as Bishop was greeted.

Bishop Harold Browne, deeply as the turmoil distressed him—he says in one letter that the position in which he found himself would destroy the effect of all his work at Cambridge and Ely, if it did not also shorten his life—never for a moment flinched from what he felt to be his duty. He endeavoured, naturally enough, to lessen the force of the opposition to Dr. Temple’s appointment, by urging him to sever himself definitely from the other writers in “Essays and Reviews.” His letter on this point makes a good prelude to the correspondence :—

“ELY, *October 18th, 1869.*

“MY DEAR DR. TEMPLE,—Will you let me say this much to you ? You have pardoned me already for saying that we have probably differences of opinion. I left my boys under your care, and my late revered friend Bishop Philpotts told me that he consented that his grandson should become a master under you, because your character stood so high in all that was honourable and disinterested, and you had infused such a very high moral tone into your school.

“I, in common with many who so respected you, regretted deeply that you wrote in a well-known volume, though

each writer in that volume claimed limited liability. Still, I always hoped you would have told the world what your own views were on some of the most burning questions in that book. Your own Essay appeared to me not to contain anything very pronounced, though some say it had the germ of all the rest.

"There is now a great agitation about your nomination by the Crown to the See of Exeter. I have no business with the question. But I am deeply interested in Exeter. I have valued friends in the Chapter. I have a great personal regard for yourself. Is there anything unreasonable in a Bishop Designate being asked to profess his faith for the satisfaction of those who are to elect him, and who will be sworn to elect according to their conscience? Bishops in old times entering on their dioceses often made some profession of faith.

"You will not like to do so in answer to clamour. That I quite appreciate. But I am no clamourer, and I am a common friend of yourself and the Chapter. Would there be anything out of place in your telling me, so that I might tell others, that you not only hold all the Articles of the Catholic Creeds, but that you believe and trust in the Atoning Sacrifice offered on the Cross, and that you do not doubt the special and supernatural inspiration of the Prophets and Apostles, not placing that inspiration on the level of genius, and so considering St. Paul as only so inspired as was Cicero or Shakespeare? I do not wish to put words into your mouth. I may be very presumptuous. But this presumption arises from an anxious desire to save the Church from another disastrous struggle, and to preserve, if it be possible, both its purity and its peace.

"This letter, if you do not yield to its suggestion, shall be private between us. I am not laying a trap for you, that you may be obliged to say one thing or the other, and so commit yourself. I am sure you will not think so. But, if my suggestion might help to calm this still increasing tempest, I should be thankful.

"Praying you to pardon me if I have overstepped the bounds which you will permit to our comparatively slight intimacy, I am, my dear Dr. Temple,

"Yours very sincerely,

"E. H. ELY."

Dr. Temple's reply was a very manly and straightforward refusal to take any such step :—

“RUGBY, *October 21st*, 1869.

“MY DEAR LORD,—I know no one whose advice I would more gladly follow than yours, and I have thought about your letter a good deal. But I cannot satisfy my conscience that it would be right to make, either directly or indirectly, any such statement as you suggest. To do so would surely be a most dangerous precedent, sure to be followed, and sure to have mischievous consequences. It would be by no means desirable that every Bishop Designate should be called upon to issue a public manifesto before taking office. It would be by no means desirable that Church parties should be encouraged to clamour by the hope of extorting some such declaration.

“Further, what is gained by a public statement now which will not be gained by personal intercourse two months hence? I shall as well be able, I shall better be able, to allay all this anxiety then than now. And to do it then by quiet personal intercourse will admit of no misconstruction. To do it now will wear the appearance of doing it not for the sake of the Church, but to smooth my own course.

“Nor can I keep myself from a very strong feeling that there would be something irreverent in proclaiming my belief in such fundamental doctrines as you quote, in order to quiet a disturbance.

“Finally, there is a very real danger in formal statements of this kind, the danger of unintentionally deceiving. People understand the same words in very different senses. And the occasion is too grave to allow us to run such a risk.

“I have no doubt at all that I shall, if God spare me, find means to satisfy the great body of the clergy in the West that I am earnestly desiring to serve our Lord, and care for His service beyond everything else on earth. And then all this anxiety will pass away. Meanwhile I must hold my tongue.

“Yours very gratefully,
“F. TEMPLE.”

The Bishop Designate in fact was not going to shelter

himself from the storm by deserting his colleagues. Nor did he feel himself bound to criticise and condemn their contributions. So the matter had to go on without being lightened by a disclaimer. Bishop Harold Browne presently thought it well to explain his position in the affair by means of a letter addressed to his Archdeacons, to which he appended his reasons for holding to his promise to be one of the consecrating prelates.

"PALACE, ELY, *December 16th*, 1869.

"MY DEAR MR. ARCHDEACON,—Having with my brethren in general the greatest possible aversion to the book called 'Essays and Reviews,' and feeling also that Dr. Temple is greatly mistaken, and I must add much to be blamed, for throwing so heavy a responsibility on others, and not relieving it by a few words spoken in public, I yet learn both from public and private sources that he is personally free from the errors in some portions of that book; and I have great hopes, that when he is once Bishop of Exeter he will no longer shrink from clearing himself from complicity with it.

"I have been named among the Consecrators in the Archbishop's Commission, no doubt, from my connection with Lord Arthur Hervey, one of the three Bishops to be consecrated on the 21st. It has thus become necessary for me to decide whether I will join in that consecration, or will decline to do so in consequence of Dr. Temple's connection with 'Essays and Reviews.' I think my diocese has a right to know the reasons which guided me in this case, and I desire to make those reasons known, through you. Earnestly praying that the God of truth and peace may guide us all at this and other times of trial into all truth in all peace and love,

"I am, etc.

"E. HAROLD ELY."

"REASONS.

"1. Dr. Temple's Essay itself does not contain heresy.

"2. Each writer actually guards his own limited responsibility in it, and Dr. Temple was wholly ignorant of the drift and character of the other Essays.

"3. Though Dr. Temple ought to have taken from it the influence of his name, which, in connection with the comparatively harmless character of his Essay, gave special weight to the volume, yet those who know him best attribute his silence to a chivalrous spirit.

"4. Though I hold that the Church should have fullest assurance of the soundness of every one admitted to the ministry, . . . yet I cannot understand, and do not share the scruples of, those who think that no declarations ought to be made except such as are required by the express law of the Church. Dr. Temple is a man of so high a moral tone, and of such a manly and truthful character, that I cannot believe he would sign formularies, etc., without heartily assenting to them in their natural and literal meaning.

"5. In Dr. Temple's sermons published we find the doctrines which he is thought unaccountably to have omitted in his Essay.

"6. The Convocation of Canterbury has distinguished between censure of a *book* and condemnation of a man or men.

"7. I believe him to be a man of singular probity, a sincere Christian and believer in all the Articles of the Christian faith.

"8. I accept the *status quo* of the manner of appointment of Bishops.

"9. *Præmunire* was intended against the Pope, not against Chapters, etc.

"10. Chapters would do right, were Government to nominate a person of vicious life or of heretical or unbelieving opinion, *ruat cælum*.

"11. The Exeter Chapter Election is a reality.

"Therefore I accept the nomination, and propose to take part in the Consecration of Bishop Temple."

A couple of days after this paper was sent to the Archdeacons, Bishop Browne once more addressed himself to the Bishop Designate, still hoping to persuade him to shake himself clear from "Essays and Reviews."

"ELY, December 18th, 1869.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I answered your last letter, but did not send the answer from fear to trouble you with longer

correspondence. The extreme anxiety of my position induces me to write to you once more.

"I enclose the copy of a letter which is but one specimen of letters which reach me daily. You have said that you would not scruple to answer any questions to me privately. I really think that, if you knew how I shall sacrifice private friendship, public reputation, and perhaps all the influence which I now have in my diocese and elsewhere by joining in your Consecration, you would feel that I have some claim on you for such confidence.

"I have read your Essay frequently, and I have read your sermons, and though I find ambiguous language in them, I do not see anything which looks like heresy.

"The real mischief is this. Your name is a justly honoured name. Its appearance in the van of the 'Essays and Reviews' has commended the other Essays to the acceptance of many. I am assured by my own clergy and others that they have witnessed death-beds of hopeless infidelity entirely brought on by that volume. I have never heard of any doubter being conciliated to Christianity or strengthened in his belief by these Essays. Now I foresee that that weight which your name has given to this book will be greatly increased by your consecration to the bishopric of Exeter, if your name, already honoured, has the honourable addition to it of a Bishop in Christ's Church, and if it still stands at the head of these Essays in all future editions without any sign of dissent from you.

"The question with me is, Can I rightly contribute to giving that additional authority to your name, if I know that it will be so used?

"You know that I gladly welcomed your nomination to the bishopric: you know my very high esteem for you, and how I shall rejoice to work with you, if all goes well. The recent correspondence between yourself and the Bishop of Lincoln [Wordsworth] and your private letters to me have greatly increased my anxiety. I am quite ready to bear what I shall bear *far more than anyone else*, --the blame which will rest on your consecrators, though I expect that it will undo all the work of six years in my diocese, and perhaps destroy life as well [as] influence: but I shrink from participating in what I now see to be so full of danger, the giving, not to you, but to 'Essays and Reviews,' additional weight and authority. Can you

not give me *privately* some assurance that the fearful destruction which that book has wrought shall not be aided in future by your name?

“Believe me ever,

“Yours most truly,

“E. H. ELY.”

Dr. Temple certainly regretted that one whom he so much respected should be buffeted about by the excited partisans of frightened orthodoxy: still, he preferred to let the matter take its course. And time shewed that he was right: the career of the characteristic Bishop of Exeter and London is the best reply to those who may have been impressed by the shrill loudness of the outcry.

On the same day on which Bishop Harold Browne wrote this letter to his friend, one of his Archdeacons, H. J. Rose, addressed him an anxious remonstrance, hoping to get from him an assurance that he was going to be one of the consecrators only because of his friendship for Lord Arthur Hervey. He writes with the old note about the “pain” which High Church people say anything they dislike causes them. Pain is a wholesome discipline; and the party has grown and flourished none the less for being sometimes subjected to it.

“HOUGHTON CONQUEST, AMPHILL,

“December 18th 1869.

“MY DEAR LORD,—I am sure your Lordship will pardon the freedom with which I write on a subject which now gives great pain to Churchmen—I mean the consecration of Dr. Temple.

“It was only last night that I learned from the newspapers that the Bishop of Ely was named on the Commission. I had been assured, on what I believed to be good authority, that his honoured name was not in the Commission. It is, of course, a matter of individual conscience, with which no one can presume to interfere, to decide on the propriety of taking part in the service. But I regret to think of the pain which our best Churchmen

in this archdeaconry will feel on learning that their loved Diocesan is to be one of the consecrating prelates. They would be thankful to know that it is as the friend of Lord Arthur Hervey that your Lordship attends at the Consecration, if, as some suppose, such is the case.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

"Your faithful, affectionate friend,

"H. J. ROSE."

The Bishop has happily preserved the draft of his reply, so that we obtain a full view of the way in which he regarded the matter. It is wonderful to see with what gentleness he treats the excited and unreasonable crowd of objectors, and with what firmness, having made up his mind as to his right course, he holds to it through good report and evil report. His reply was dated the day before the Consecration.

"ELY, *December 20th* 1869.

"MY DEAR ARCHDEACON,—I could not answer your very kind letter yesterday in the midst of a large Ordination. Be assured I am only too thankful for plain outspoken Christian remonstrance. I will tell you all I have to tell. First, let me say that the placing of my name among the Bishops to consecrate Lord Arthur Hervey and Dr. Temple was simply the act of the Primate without my knowledge. I supposed at the time that I was named because Lord Arthur had been my Archdeacon as well as my very valued friend. However that may have been, the first that I heard of it was a letter from the Archbishop's Secretary at one of the earliest stages of the Archbishop's most alarming illness, in which I was told that a commission had been signed by his Grace to me and to three other bishops, and that he earnestly hoped that I should be willing to act under it.

"Now for my own part.

"When first I heard of Dr. Temple's nomination by the Prime Minister and acceptance by the Crown, my thoughts were of this kind :—There has long been an acknowledged place in the English Church for what we now call a Broad School. The 'latitude divines,' Witchcote,

Henry More, etc., were its antetypes, and you know better than I can tell you that some of them did good service. In our own times we have had men like Dr. Arnold, Archbishop Whately, Bishop Hinds, and others whom I need not recount. I remember, when Dr. Hinds was made Bishop of Norwich, a very orthodox friend of mine saying that we probably need not be dissatisfied, as he was the best of a bad school. I do not think the Church Catholic (nor the English Church as being a sound portion of that Church) could eject such men, and I should be sorry to see her eject an Edward Irving or a Macleod Campbell, as the Scotch Kirk has done.

"This being so, it is pretty certain that men of that School will not be wholly overlooked in preferment to high places in the Church. Indeed, if they were by belonging to that School excluded from any one office in the ministry, I see not how they should not be excluded from any one, even the lowest. When therefore I heard it said that Mr. Gladstone was determined to recommend for bishoprics members of all the different Church parties, it certainly seemed to me a very happy thing that he should have chosen one of such high character, real piety, and great energy as Dr. Temple. I could not help welcoming the appointment as the best that could be made from the School in question. I had a very high esteem for Dr. Temple personally, and I never believed that any of his writings were heretical. I have always maintained that if his *Essay* had stood alone, no one would have called its writer a heretic. I said so repeatedly in Committee of Convocation, and Convocation made it clear that that which is condemned was not any particular writer or any body of writers, but a book which was, taken as a whole, mischievous and destructive.

"When I found myself placed in the Commission to consecrate, I certainly felt a fresh responsibility and new anxieties. The frantic protests of some persons affected me very little. Their tendency is always to prejudice me against them, because I see that passion rules and not wisdom. But I had to ask myself seriously: After Election and Confirmation, ought the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury to consecrate Dr. Temple or ought they not? This seems to me the true measure of my own responsibility. If Dr. Temple ought, under the circumstances of the case, to be consecrated, then I, having

received the Archbishop's Commission, have no right to shrink from consecrating him through any regard to my own ease or comfort or good fame. I have no right to cast on others the responsibility which providentially has fallen on me, how much soever I may shrink from the obloquy and misrepresentation which I know must be my lot.

"If I in my conscience believe that, at the present stage of the proceedings, the next step ought to be the consecration, then I am a coward if I allow others to consecrate him when I have been called on to do so. Of course, I may add the less weighty consideration that, if I absent myself from Westminster Abbey to-morrow, I shall be unable to present and consecrate my own friend and Archdeacon, Lord Arthur Hervey.

"Looking then at Dr. Temple only by himself, I should say at once, under all the circumstances he ought to be consecrated. He, and those who think with him, have a recognised standing-ground in the Church. It is hardly possible that no one of his School should rise to the Episcopate. It would be hard to find any better representative of his School. He will probably be an active, efficient, impartial Bishop, as he has been one of the best Headmasters of a public school that ever lived.

"But on the other hand there is what seems to me the terrible fact that his *Essay*, standing at the head of 'Essays and Reviews,' being far more innocuous in itself than any of the others, and bearing his honoured name upon it, has shed a lustre on the whole book, has induced many to read the book and to trust it, who would otherwise either not have read it at all, or would have read it with caution and suspicion, and so have been safer from its poison. That he should have suffered the *Essay* to stand where it does through successive editions is, I confess, a difficulty which I am unable to solve. To my own mind this is the one difficulty, and it has puzzled my will.

"I am not at liberty to say anything that has passed in private correspondence between Dr. Temple and myself. I will only say for myself, that I have tried long and anxiously, and almost at times despairingly, to see my way out of the maze of doubt. I need not tell you that it has been the subject of hourly prayer. Consequences seem likely to be serious in any case. If the Bishops were to refuse to consecrate there would be instant collision

between the temporality and the spirituality, and that disestablishment which you fear would come in the worst possible form, viz., not as a disunion of Church and State, but as a separation of the great bulk of the clergy from the great bulk of the laity. The laity are at least nineteen to one in favour of Dr. Temple. And what a loss of blessing would that be, if the Church was found to be a body of shepherds with no sheep to feed ! On the other side I see all the dangers of tender consciences wounded, zealous Churchmen alienated, distrust as to the soundness of a body where there is thought to be no resistance to error, and an agitation by some unchastened spirits for change of a destructive character. The balance of consequences is like the balance of duties ; but I am quite sure you will feel with me, that consequences may safely be disregarded if duties can be clearly ascertained.

“On the whole, I have come to the conclusion that I am convinced in my own mind that Dr. Temple is not a heretic nor an immoral liver ; that there is no canonical impediment to his consecration ; that all legal steps have been gone through ; that, if a formal trial had at any point of the proceedings been obtained, it would in any actual or conceivable court, civil or ecclesiastical, have issued in his acquittal on every charge of heresy, without the smallest doubt or shadow of a doubt ; that, therefore, there is really no ground which can be legitimately taken for the Bishops of the province of Canterbury, in the present state of the proceedings, to refuse consecration ; and, if there be not, then I, whatever it may cost me, am bound to consecrate. That is to say, holding that consecration ought not to be withheld, I am bound not to shrink from my own responsibility, and to throw it upon others. I will only add that, though I know well how I shall be judged here, I appeal to a higher judgment, and as in the presence of that, I can say that I know no motive in my own heart but the desire in this to do as I would do if to-morrow were to be my last day in this world.

“Ever, my dear Archdeacon,

“Your affectionate friend,

“E. H. ELY.”

One letter of remonstrance more, in the shrill oriental fashion of the remarkable man who wrote it, shall find a

place here. The Bishop knew Dean Burgon well, and fully appreciated—who did not?—his quaintness bordering on originality, his kindness of heart, his love for children, and childlike way of looking at the problems of life. Mr. Burgon does not date his letter; it must have been written not long before the day of Temple's consecration (December 21st, 1869).

“ORIEL,

“MY DEAR LORD,—It would be unbecoming in me to say more. Your transparent sincerity I never for an instant, of course, doubted.

“I am persuaded, however, that you still do not see the danger of the thing I deprecate, because you raise a mistaken issue. I have explained this at length in the enclosed paper.

“At least I have the comfort of knowing that I gave you all the warning I could. And still if the perusal of this protest makes you alter your mind, I am as sure as I am of my life that you will not hesitate a moment to draw back—even at this late hour.

“I do not measure myself with you, nor dare to think how we shall compare at the last day, in God's sight, without being overwhelmed with confusion.

“Respectfully and affectionately yours,

“J. W. B.

“May the good Lord guide you!

“P.S.—*Of course* Dr. T. was not condemned by the House of Bishops. *No* one was. *They have no power to condemn anybody.* Books—not men—are condemned.

“But you *cannot* consecrate a book. And if you condemn a *book*, you mean that you will not consecrate the *man*.

“Had you wished to excuse Temple, you (of the Upper House) should have said so. But not a word was dropped!

“Excuse this P.S. It is the result of re-perusing your letter before I burn it.”

The Bishop's reply to his eager friend is so full of sweetness and goodness that it cannot be omitted :—

“ELY, *December 3rd*, 1869.

“MY DEAR MR. BURGON,—I must answer your letter, if it were only to thank you for its affectionate kindness. I need hardly tell you that the subject of it has long occupied my thoughts and prayers.

“As it happens, the Archbishop of Canterbury has, I am told, placed my name in the Commission for consecrating the Bishops of Exeter, Bath and Wells, and the Falkland Islands. Moreover, the Bishop-elect of Bath and Wells, being my own highly valued Archdeacon, has asked me to present him at the consecration, and it would be hard for me to stay away. Then comes the question, Having to be present can I refuse to join in the consecration of the Bishop of Exeter?

“I joined in condemning the book in which his Essay appears, and I still think it is one of the most destructive books which the present century has produced ; but I have read again the Preface and Dr. Temple's Essay. The Preface claims entire independence for each author and irresponsibility for what others have written. Dr. Temple's Essay has many things with which I do not agree, but I find in it distinctly the creation of the world by God, its government, natural and spiritual, by His providence, the spiritual nature and accountability of man, the final judgment, the Divinity of Christ, the Divine revelation of religious truth to the Jews and Christians in contradistinction to the light of nature among the heathens, the infallible inspiration of Scripture in matters of faith, and other religious truths. These things come out incidentally, but there they are. There are, no doubt, other truths which I do not find there ; but I cannot expect every Christian truth to come out in every essay on a religious question. There is certainly the supposition that the writers of Holy Scripture may not have been infallible in matters of science or of history. This even is not asserted, but only supposed possible ; and whatever I myself may hold on this point, I can find no Creed or Article or decree of Council which defines the exact nature and extent of inspired infallibility.

“I entirely agree with the Archbishop of Canterbury in

regretting that Dr. Temple has not disclaimed all sympathy with some of the sayings in the other Essays. I understand the feelings of honour which have weighed with him ; but I think the Church and the interest of souls have as much hold on us as feelings of delicacy toward friends and colleagues. Still, as he falls back on responsibility for his own Essay alone, as I have never heard that he has given utterance to heresy in any other way, as he professes himself ready to make all required declarations and subscriptions, as I believe him to be a man of singularly high moral tone and incapable of signing in a non-natural sense, as the Archbishop of Canterbury, my own Metropolitan, vouches for his orthodoxy, the following seems plain to me. Dr. Temple has been chosen by the Crown, elected by the Chapter (according to the present form of the *Concordia sacerdotii et imperii*) ; if he is further confirmed by the Metropolitan (according to Canon IV. and VI. of the Council of Nice), and if he is presented by two Bishops as a godly and well-learned man, there is no reason for me to withhold my hand when others are laid on him.

"I am fully prepared for a storm of indignation, '*sacerdotum ardor prava jubentium*' ! I fear incomparably more the giving pain to many dear friends, with whom I have almost every feeling in common, but who see this question in a different light from myself. Nay ! I fear that I shall entirely lose the friendship and confidence of some. But, if I allowed these motives to weigh with me, I should feel that I was not acting a manly and Christian part, and so I should fear to lose the favour of God ; and I look forward to a time when the misunderstandings of the disciples of Jesus Christ will be cleared up in the light of His eternal presence.

"Believe me, my dear Mr. Burgon,

"Yours affectionately and gratefully,

"E. H. ELY."

Mr. Burgon returned to the attack with one of those "frenzied" efforts of which the Bishop makes mention. One would have thought that the end of the Christian faith was come, so violent and despairing was the tone of it, so hopeless the figure of the kind good Fellow of

Oriel, as he looked out of that window near the College gate from which he was wont to observe the doings of a degenerate world.

Some of the Bishop's correspondents wrote in a very different strain. Thus, the Bishop of Carlisle recognised the difficulty of his position, and the manly way in which he had faced it; the laity generally were favourable to the course he had followed. The clergyman, Mr. Morton Shaw, to whom he offered the office of Rural Dean, thrown back to him by one outraged Rector, spoke out vigorously in his letter accepting the post :—

“ROUGHAM RECTORY, BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

“February 21st, 1870.

“MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—Since I wrote last night I have learnt the reason of Mr. ——'s resignation, which I presume he stated to your Lordship at the time; so that I hope I am not trespassing upon improper ground in alluding to it. But it has decided me *at once* to accept the appointment. I do so, indeed, for the very reason that led him to resign it. I should have asked permission to wait until I see how I come out of my illness before deciding, under other circumstances. But I wish every one of my neighbours to know what I feel on that subject; and if I should come very badly out of my illness and find myself unequal to the duties of the office, I must ask you kindly to relieve me of it.

“From the very first I have expressed the opinion that if I had been in your Lordship's place I should have done as you did; for that you had clearly two responsibilities placed before you,—one that of consecrating, and the other that of refusing to do so; and that I didn't see how, having both clearly before your conscience, you could do otherwise than accept what, after all, painful as it might be, seemed to me the *less serious* responsibility—that of consecrating.

“I have often longed to write and tell you how much I sympathised with you in all that I knew you must be suffering in regard to this matter. But I felt that it would be a liberty to go out of the way to do so, and also that

there was almost a kind of indignity in seeming to imply that you needed any vindication from any of your clergy for doing what you conscientiously, and as I think truly, felt it your duty to do.

“Believe me, my dear Lord Bishop,

“Your Lordship’s most obliged and obedient servant,

“MORTON SHAW.

“THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY.”

The violence and excitement soon wore themselves out, and calmer judgments prevailed. People found out that the formidable schoolmaster became a Bishop who could not be played with safely; his earnestness and real piety, his vigorous utterances and plain common sense, his freedom from extravagances, his championship of religious education, soon allayed alarm. “*Essays and Reviews*” were put on the shelf and forgotten; and the Bishop of Ely found that, after all, his work went on much as before, and that he had by no means forfeited the esteem and affection of his diocese.

CHAPTER III.

ORGANISATION OF THE DIOCESE.

A MAN who was bold enough to say, as Bishop Harold Browne did in 1871, that "the best method of Church defence is Church work," would certainly take care that in his own sphere "Church work" should be a reality. The thirty years that have passed since he was first called to the Episcopate have seen a vast change, of which the Bishop was one of the pioneers. The road is now, thanks largely to his energy and practical gifts, open in the direction of still farther advances.

All the Bishop's innovations were in one direction. They aimed at more organisation, which should employ and interest Churchmen in Church matters; they tried to teach men to differ charitably or to agree heartily. Apart from the spiritual aspect of the question, there can be no doubt that the shifting of the political balance, and the uprising of new social powers, have given a fresh insistence to the vital question, Is the Church of England the Church of the people? So long ago as his Ely days, Bishop Harold Browne saw that this question could not be set aside, and longed to quicken the zeal of his clergy in dealing with the people. If the Church is to retain her position in the future, it can only be by realising this necessity, as many single-hearted men who work in our large towns are aware. The stability of "Church and

State" may be as much strengthened by this new reading of the Church's duty in the towns as it is weakened by the continuance of the older system in country villages. There the Church strives to perpetuate or restore the old idyllic life, at the moment when the villagers are attaining to a sense of new rights and privileges, and a wholesome, if as yet uneasy, independence; in the more complex life of towns she is learning, thanks chiefly to the more modern school of High Churchmanship, to adapt herself to the conditions of life around her and to prove herself the guide and friend of the wage-earner.

The Bishop's handling of this vital subject was rather in the older spirit:—

"A Church," he says in the Charge of 1869, "which has lost its poor, and lost them to indifference and sin, has indeed lost its truest riches. . . . The evil grows, and all the Church must work against it. . . . The Church is called on to throw itself with all its soul into the conflict. . . . No lazy perfunctory work will reach them. There is need of throwing ourselves into their wants and homes, living familiarly among them, giving ourselves wholly to them. . . . We all of us want, but the poor want most especially, strong, earnest, fervent heart-utterances in their prayers."

We must be grateful for such wise words, yet we feel that there is always a certain condescension; the Bishop will treat them with the warmest sympathy and win them by kindness, yet they are in a different sphere; the notion of the brotherhood and ultimate equality of all in Christ is hardly realised. The subject came up not infrequently in the Diocesan Conferences; and the Bishop always treated it so as to shew that he saw the importance of the problem. In one address he admits that the clergyman is usually a member of the employer class, yet he is "the natural defender of the poor," a noble office which he must try

to fulfil with ever-growing zeal and power. In another address he points out the terrible fact that—

“Only two per cent. of the working-classes in large towns attend public worship ; infidelity is making way among the masses ; five millions are living in neglect of all means of grace ; there is, I fear, but little active preaching of the gospel, of the simple proclaiming of the glad tidings of salvation.”

The Bishop tells them that he yearns to lead a crusade, a true crusade, against the modern spirit of indifference. He takes heart in thinking that “one great sign of hope to the Church at present is that amidst the crowd of operatives in our great manufacturing towns the religion of the Church is the most popular ; the Church has gained most ground in populous centres.”

In another Conference address (1871), he calls attention to the evils of intemperance ; and his words may carry the more weight with some from the fact that the Bishop, though most temperate and even abstemious, was not a total abstainer. He speaks of drunkenness as “a vice of civilisation, not of barbarism. One in every thirty-four houses in England is a licensed house. . . . In some villages one in twenty, even one in ten ! . . . A portentous thing.”

In this same address, in the just indignation of his heart he went on to enlarge on the bad surroundings of the working-man's life, speaking of his wretched and crowded dwellings, his unwholesome sanitary state and general discomfort, and he added that we must endeavour to improve the dwellings of the poor. Presently, however, he became aware that some magnate on the platform was pulling a long face ; and he weakened the effect of his weighty words by explaining that “this is in towns, not in ‘sweet country villages.’” But people with opened eyes—

most of us are as blind as puppies—know well enough that neither vice nor misery can be said to belong to either town or country to the exclusion of the other ; and though the model village may smile outside the park gates, there is many a wretched hovel within reach which deserves to the full the Bishop's vigorous words of condemnation.

Nor does his practical mind forget to suggest some sensible ways of lessening the evil. He discusses in one of his Visitation Charges the best way of alluring the working-men to church. He recommends a most admirable code of village church usage. Let us have, he says, churches open on a week day, and on every week day evening a short service, as a kind of Family Prayers : "the prayers taking fifteen minutes ; then a hymn, then a short practical address for ten minutes more." "Let us have brighter singing in service: choral service where it can be managed." He also advises a Litany on Sunday afternoons, with homely and interesting catechising on the life of our Lord, or short colloquial sermons addressed specially 'ad populum.' That catechising in church should have so much dropped out of use in country places is a most astonishing and lamentable fact. Then he suggests that all class distinctions should disappear within the walls of God's house ; and lastly—and here is the key of the whole position—he cries aloud for a zealous and faithful clergy capable of rightly dividing the word of truth. There is a pretty touch, in the same visitation, which gives us a glimpse of the Bishop's own parochial life. Archdeacon Emery, his trusted friend and colleague, in enforcing his chief's advice about the best way of gaining admittance to the hearts of the people, said that—

"The clergyman, however much 'the gentleman,' would be heartily received by the poor, if like their Bishop in his former parishes he visited his poor folk, and did not

disdain to sit down with them and take a meal or a cup of tea ; or even to help them to boil the kettle."

Just before the close of his Ely episcopate the Bishop had approved of a very practical discussion in the Diocesan Conference on "The duty of the Church, clergy and laity, in relation to the disputes between Labour and Capital, with special reference to the danger of alienating the working classes from religion and religious ordinances." And on this large and most vital topic he spoke with much gravity and a real insight into many of the difficulties of the problem. He treated the subject from a somewhat wide point of view, calling his address a discourse on "Vital Christianity and Modern Civilisation," and dealing with the relations of the Church to the world in general rather than to the working folk specially. Still, all he said bears directly on the essential question—Why it is that the religion of Jesus Christ has been so far from realising the most important of all its duties: "To the poor the gospel is preached."

"I believe," he says, and so saying strikes the note of a liberal policy for the Church, "that Communism and Socialism are really the earnest strugglings of the human heart for a state of society which the Christian Church ought to supply. They are a kind of travesty on the condition of the Church as her Founder intended it to be. It was intended to be one great society, one great body, knit together in unity of heart and soul, in which if one member suffer all the members suffer with it, and one member rejoice, all the members rejoice with it ; in which every effort is made to raise the poor ; to keep the rich from being proud and overbearing ; to promote perfect sympathy between all classes ; to make every one feel that whether a man is higher than himself or lower he is his brother in Christ, with the same hopes and ends and aims. Therefore Communism and Socialism are the uneasy throes of the human mind, and if the Church knew how to deal with them, all these desires would be satisfied."

A little later, he addresses himself again to the problem of the poor.

"In former times," he says, "it was a glory of the Church that it could be called emphatically the Church of the poor . . . but it may be feared that religion of all kinds is losing its hold on the labouring man. There are many causes for this. The rapid growth of population, far outstripping the growth of the means of grace, is one chief cause. But we must look farther and deeper still. It may be said without fear of contradiction that the only Church in Christendom, at all events in Western Christendom, which commands the confidence of the wealthy and the well-educated is the English Church. This is true, not only where establishment is supposed to give a high social position to its clergy, but in the colonies, in some of which it is at singular disadvantage. On the Continent the Roman Church revolts the intelligence, while the Reformed Churches do not satisfy the wants, of the educated classes. We have then great privileges. It is a great point gained when faith is conciliated, yet reason not offended. But the gain of the rich is ill purchased if it be by the loss of the poor ; and I am afraid it must be said that in all Protestant countries not the Church only but religion altogether is losing its hold upon the poor. But it ought not so to be. There is no sufficient reason why the English Church at all events should lose the poor. Of the two it had far better lose the rich. 'Hath not God chosen the poor of this world, rich in faith and heirs of the promises?' and evil will betide the Church which disregards those whom God has chosen.

"In the present struggle it is not altogether unnatural that the labouring man should look on the clergyman as likely to be his enemy. The clergyman belongs to the employer—not to the labourer—class. He is often himself possessed of land, and so likely to sympathise with owners and holders of land or property. Besides, he is by duty as well as by interest a defender of the law. On these accounts the labourer or operative is likely to esteem him a prejudiced person, prejudiced against his cause and his rights. The greatest discretion is therefore needed by the clergy, on the one hand not to encourage the labouring man in any undue assertion of his rights, but on the other

hand not to be led away by any personal or class interest to take a part or to say an unwise word against him. The minister of God is the natural defender of the poor, and he had better err by defending him too much than by deserting him when he needs defence.

"It is pretty generally admitted that the agricultural labourer in many parts of England has had wrongs; and I think it will not be denied that no one has so tried to do him right as the parochial clergy. They have tried to raise his social condition, have defended him against oppression, have ministered to him in poverty, sickness, and sorrow, have provided almost the only education hitherto provided for him at all. They have especially defended him against himself. In all these ways we are called on to defend him still. I am sure that the best friend of the working man is he who educates him best, not as an animal, but as a being who is heir of both worlds, and who has wants for both."

Nor did the Bishop fail, when occasion offered, to talk in a very friendly and sympathetic strain to labouring people. His advice was wholesome and sensible, and answered fairly enough to the conditions of the labour problem as it then presented itself.

"I wish you," he said, "to plead for your own rights; I wish you to have your rights. I earnestly wish that every poor man and woman may have his or her rights as regards labour, wages, everything else; but I want you to try and obtain them in a reasonable spirit, in such a spirit as is likely to be prospered by God and accepted by man. One thing I certainly wish—I wish you all could have better houses: it would be a great blessing; and I wish you could all have a little portion of land. But there is one thing I specially wish you to do, and that is, when you prosper, when wages rise, and your houses are more comfortable, and homes more comfortable, that you should know how to take care of your houses, your homes, your property, and, most of all, of yourselves. What does most harm to the working man in this country is what he does of himself. If he gets good wages, he often does not bring them home to wife and children, but takes the money elsewhere. In some manufacturing districts many men

spend three days of the week working and four drinking ; and then are poorer than they were when wages were less, and are less comfortable, and their wives and children worse off. Nothing will give you such command of the market view of life as command of yourselves. I would say to both parties, masters and men, that the best way to get grievances righted is to do no wrong ; to do what you think well to do, kindly, as firmly as you like, still kindly, gently, sensibly. Argue fairly, act properly, in a straight-forward way, not by way of agitation. I do not wonder at agitations sometimes, for working men have had causes for complaint ; there are reasons why working men should combine to save their rights. Do all you do prudently ; you have sympathy on your side. But if it comes to a conflict, take care : there is such power in wealth that the labourer is likely to be worsted. So be prudent in calling for a rise of wages, and careful not to defeat yourselves."

It would be easy to criticise some of these utterances ; still the fact remains that he was aware of the growing labour-problem ; that he faced it sympathetically and in a good spirit, and sincerely desired to stand, as friend to both sides, between the two ; and wished his clergy to occupy the same position. That greatest question of the future, the destiny of the worker, and the use he will make of his power when he comes to understand it, rose into the Bishop's sight in days in which it was entirely below the horizon for the most of us. He hoped that the Church would have wisdom and grace to help towards the wholesome solution of this grave question. It is worthy of notice that one of those who were brought up at our Bishop's feet in the old Cambridge days, the present Bishop of Durham, has been called on to face the problem in all its difficulty, and did excellent work in the great Durham strike in 1892.

The ten years of the Bishop's work at Ely were full of well-aimed endeavours to secure the harmonious activity of the Church. No man had ever before him a higher

ideal of the episcopal calling. His aim was to be guide and father to his diocese ; and in this he never spared himself. It was the moment at which Bishops, finding that their work multiplied till they were unable to keep pace with it, looked out for help. Those who could obtain Suffragan Bishops began to make arrangements for this relief. It was obvious that a Bishop and a helping Bishop, working heartily together, would catch up arrears of organisation, and infinitely enlarge the usefulness of episcopal supervision. And our Bishop, having within his reach one of the most characteristic and vigorous of men, made haste to catch and secure him.

Francis McDougall, who had resigned the bishopric of Labuan in consequence of the failure of his strength, the ill-health of his wife, and the death of more than one of his children, had returned to England, and having taken the living of Godmanchester, in the suburbs of Huntingdon, was already in the diocese. From the very first a warm friendship sprang up between the two Bishops. The originality of Bishop McDougall's character, appearance, and mind, the story of his heroic and venturesome life, the society of his refined and delightful wife, his charming and fascinating children, attracted our Bishop powerfully. No two men could have been more unlike, whether in appearance or in qualities ; yet they were quite devoted to each other, and the letters which passed between them during the long period—over twenty years—in which they worked together, would fill many volumes. Their points in common were first a deep sense of religion and a true loyalty to the Church of England ; then, a wholesome and refreshing sense of humour and appreciation of character ; then, an almost passionate love of animals, and interest in the world around us. Each of them recognised in the other a perfectly honest man.

"The extreme intimacy and brotherly affection between the Bishop and McDougall," says an old friend, "was very remarkable, as well as very creditable to both. Of course the two Bishops had some things in common. Both were full of geniality, and both had a keen sense of humour. But in many aspects what very different men they were. One was the very perfection of refinement, the other had an almost Falstaffian jollity in manner as in appearance."

They both had an equal dislike of extravagances : Bishop McDougall by reason of his knowledge of the world, his early training, and his honest temper of mind, which shrank from anything which might savour of mere appearance and hypocrisy ; and the Bishop of Ely, because his sensitive, well-trained nature instinctively fought against what was theatrical in religion. They were both High Churchmen of the older type, of the earlier Anglican school ; both suspicious of a tendency towards Rome visible in the manners and acts of some of the clergy. Nothing ever distressed Bishop Harold Browne or him so much as to see young men, in their youthful enthusiasm, attracted by and endeavouring to copy the ways of Rome. The one, thanks to his great learning, the other through his practical knowledge of the working of the system, were far more fully aware of the real character of the Roman advance than were those who, in the enthusiasm of a generous youth, fell under the fascinations of a magnificent system and a splendid symbolic ritual.

And so it came about that these two men, so very different in look, ways, habits, education, yet so closely agreed in the weightier matters of the gospel of salvation, were affectionate friends and colleagues both at Ely and at Winchester. In 1870 the Bishop made Bishop McDougall Archdeacon of Huntingdon ; throughout he employed his help, consulted him on every occasion, and

helped him with his purse with a never-failing liberality and affectionate eagerness. And there are many letters which show that the two prelates gladly offered and took this practical help. It was always done in so beautiful a spirit as to leave the impression that the favour was being conferred not on the recipient but on the giver.

It was in connexion with this helping hand that the Bishop of Ely next year, 1871, communicated with Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, on the subject of Suffragan Bishops. It is curious to notice how the parts seem to have been exchanged. The Bishop was at the time much occupied with the Revision of the Authorised Version of the Old Testament, which often took him away to London, and this, as he naturally felt, left the diocese too much to itself. He was the chairman of the Old Testament company, and by his erudition, his mastery of the Hebrew tongue, his fairness and courtesy, had rendered himself essential to the work, and could never, save for absolute necessity, absent himself from the meetings of the body. He therefore desired, if possible, to give to Bishop McDougall the more definite and recognised position of Suffragan Bishop, Huntingdon being one of the places named in the Act of Henry VIII. (26 Henry VIII., c. 14). Mr. Gladstone's reply was caution itself—as became one of the most conservative of statesmen. He is not prepared to recommend the Crown to appoint Suffragans whenever asked to do so; he thinks there is an intermediate course; the Bishop of the diocese might appoint an Assistant-Bishop. He adds that the Lord Chancellor, whom he had consulted, also thought it undesirable to create Suffragans. The Bishop had mentioned the names of two of his Archdeacons, Bishop McDougall and Lord Arthur Hervey, as those whom he would wish to submit to

the Crown. The Prime Minister replies that the appointment of either of them "would strain the working and credit of the Act." And so the proposal fell to the ground. When the Bishop was translated to Winchester, and (in January 1874) applied to the Prime Minister for a Suffragan, he found Mr. Gladstone perfectly willing to carry out his wishes, and to allow the appointment of a Bishop of Guildford.

Another little matter, bearing on the dignity of his episcopal office, came before the Bishop of Ely at this time. In July 1870 many of his friends in the diocese were anxious to present their Bishop with a handsome Pastoral Staff, as an emblem of his authority. It will be seen that the Bishop was pleased at the kindness which had suggested the presentation, while he was most anxious not to hurt the feelings of any of his people, or to lend himself to what might be regarded as a party demonstration. He thus writes from Ely, on July 27th, 1870, to Bishop McDougall:—

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—With reference to what you kindly said to me yesterday, I would just say this.

"I have thought a good deal of what you told me about Archdeacons Emery and Chapman, thinking that the last might be offended by the presentation of a Pastoral Staff to me. Personally, I like the emblem or symbolism involved in the said Staff, and of course cannot but be deeply gratified at the kind thoughts which have dictated the proposal to give me one. As, however, the thoughts seem to have arisen in connection with our Conferences, it certainly would be very sad if a torch of discord were thrown into these Conferences, or if distrust were excited by the said Staff.

"Does it not seem that it would be well if my kind friends among the clergy were to sound the leading law members of the Conference before quite deciding?

"I throw this out as you so kindly spoke to me about it.

"Ever yours affectionately,

"E. H. ELY."

Bishop McDougall's reply is lost ; it was followed soon after by a second letter, which is given here :—

“ ROSE CASTLE, CARLISLE.

“ *August 6th, 1870.*

“ MY DEAR BISHOP,—I am much obliged to you for your kind letter. I enclose part of one on the same subject from my chaplain, G. Phear, Tutor of Emmanuel College, who was the other person that told me of the design of the ‘Staff.’ I have also talked privately to the Bishop of Carlisle. He is fearful that the *use* of a Pastoral Staff just now would be thought a badge of party. The Bishops to whom staves have been given are Winchester, Rochester, and the late Bishops of Salisbury and Chichester, who would probably be thought the four most decidedly High Churchmen Bishops. You mentioned Peterborough : I did not know he was one.

“ It very little matters whether people abuse one as a Ritualist or anything else ; but if any section of the clergy of the diocese, or still more if the laity in general, become thereby suspicious, there might be a breach of that harmony which I am so thankful to think exists in the diocese of Ely ; and that without compromise of principle.

“ I do not hesitate to say that I think a Pastoral Staff a very proper piece of symbolism, and I should much like to use one ; but not if thereby a weak brother be offended.

“ This is a lovely place, and the Goodwins seem very happy here.

“ Ever yours affectionately,

“ E. H. ELY.”

In the end the Bishop received the Staff from Mr. C. Longuet Higgins, a well-known layman of the diocese, and one of his dearest friends ; and made a charming reply as to the plain meaning and symbolic quality of the Staff. Now that such emblems have lost a party-character, if ever they had it, we are inclined to wonder at the Bishop's anxiety to avoid the risk of wounding the weak brethren. It is clear that this Staff was an evidence of much and very widespread affection in the diocese ; the

subscribers to it were of all classes of society, and represented many very different shades of opinion. In one small village, where the Bishop had lately been visiting, and "where he had often spent a day in ministering among the people," the schoolchildren asked leave to contribute to the fund, and in pence, halfpence, and farthings collected together quite a good sum towards it; it is to be hoped that at some later confirmation or other grave occasion they had the felicity of again seeing their Bishop with his Pastoral Staff, towards which out of their "deep poverty" they had so affectionately contributed.

Bishop Harold Browne now advanced a step farther. The centre-point of the diocese is the Cathedral: what part should the officials of the Mother Church be called on to take in the practical work around them? It seemed to him far from enough that there should be a semi-independent leisurely body of men, set, with ample means at their disposal, to keep up a splendid fabric, to encourage good choral services, to dispense elegant hospitalities, to form a close College with little or no influence on the diocese around. The Cathedral dignitary, in theory an elderly man enjoying leisure, was in practice something entirely different: he was usually the Rector of a living at a distance, sometimes not in the diocese, who spent three months a year in the Cathedral city as a kind of holiday, and found little or no spiritual work to do. The literary records of the English Church do not confirm the notion that the Cathedral Close is the home of research or the mother of many books. Above all, the position of the Dean was a real difficulty. Deans are a puzzling race. A Dean ought to be so useful, and is sometimes not even ornamental: he represents neither the Bishop nor the clergy of the diocese; is appointed by the Prime Minister of the day, without regard for the needs of the

place to which he is to go ; his authority over the Cathedral Church, instead of helping to make him the ready lieutenant of the Bishop, gives him an almost independent position of rivalry ; he comes into the diocese, a stranger with no ties to the place of his sojourn. His necessary duties are small enough : he must reside his eight months, preach his four statutable sermons, be hospitable and courteous, and on good terms with the Mayor, and, if possible, be a man of business, able to preside at Chapter meetings and the like. He has supervision over the staff of persons employed in his Cathedral Church and precinct ; in theory he is supreme over the Services and the music, though he finds in practice that these matters are regarded as too high for him. If a Cathedral is in some populous place, the Dean may, if he has the gifts for it, become as it were the incumbent of the chief city Church, and fill a really important position as such. Even so, his attitude is not always sympathetic towards his Bishop, who has no real control over him, and cannot work him into his diocesan system.

In spite of these unpromising elements, Bishop Harold Browne, though he said little about the work to be got out of his Deans, was not afraid of attacking the important problem of Cathedral usefulness. Here was a reserve of power, which might be made valuable in many ways, if only the Canons with their Head would become leaders in diocesan work. It is obvious that a Dean who has no sympathy with what is going on in the diocese around him is far from making the most of his position. It is equally clear that a body of Canons who hold themselves aloof from the parochial clergy, till, instead of unity of aim, jealousies and illwill spring up, are very far from doing justice to their opportunities. And so the Bishop, in his usual conservative spirit, began to consider how he might,

with the least disturbance of existing arrangements, mould his Chapter into the form best suited for his purpose. We have, in his letter to Dean Goulburn on "Bishops and Cathedrals," published in 1872, an account of the way in which the Canonries should be filled up, a plan which he always followed in making his own nominations. He expresses a decided preference for the system in use in certain Cathedrals, as at Exeter, under which he himself had become a Canon.

"In the Old Foundation Cathedrals, according to their ancient rights and customs, the Bishop appointed and collated to the non-residentiary prebends, the value of which was very small, and not such as to tempt to much nepotism; the residentiary Canons were then elected by the Dean and Chapter out of the body of the non-residentiary Prebendaries. There was thus a double election. It was the interest of the Bishop to appoint able men to the prebends. It was the interest of the Chapter to elect the ablest Prebendaries into the residentiary stalls."

This, however, was not the system which he, as Bishop of two Cathedrals of the New Foundation, had to deal with. He found himself charged with the duty of selecting both the Honorary Canons and the Canons Residentiary, a system which, with an able and good Bishop, is perhaps superior to that of the Old Foundation Chapters. Both at Ely and at Winchester he exercised his patronage with the most scrupulous and delicate care. He elicited the opinions and wishes of the members of the Cathedral body, shewing the greatest anxiety lest he should appoint any one distasteful to the body politic, or even to single members of it; and he thus describes the process:—

"I have always exercised my Cathedral patronage on the following principle: I have consulted the Archdeacons as to the best and ablest men in their respective arch-

deaconries. When an honorary stall was to be filled up, I have set down a number of names commended to me by my Archdeacons and by my own knowledge of the diocese. I have then laid them before the Dean and Chapter, with the request that they would choose one or two (according to the number of the vacancies); and I have always appointed those chosen by them. Two residentiary stalls have fallen to my patronage. Every interest has been made with me for persons of high birth or personal relation to myself. I hope I need not tell you that I disregarded this. I gave the first to an Archdeacon who had no preferment but his archdeaconry [Archdeacon Emery], but who was the most indefatigable of workers in all diocesan work. I gave it on the understanding that such diocesan work should still be carried on by him; and every one will confess that it is carried on with the most untiring energy. The other stall I gave to a man [Bishop McDougall] who for twenty years had lived as a missionary and a missionary Bishop, sacrificing his health and his wife's health, and the health and life of his children, to his Master's service."

Nothing could exceed the kindness and consideration with which the Bishop thus exercised his Cathedral patronage, seeking only to appoint the best and most acceptable men, men who would not disturb the peace and brotherliness which ought always to reign within a Cathedral's precincts. It may be that he sometimes missed by this process the strongest men. They are not always easy to drive.

The aim he had set before him is made quite clear in his Address of 1871. In it he says that :—

"The Bishop with his Chapter around him was especially the missionary agency of the Church. I hope the time may be coming when from the Cathedral, as from the centre of the diocese, may emanate some great spiritual machinery for penetrating the darkness around. The desire for reform has extended even to our Cathedrals."

He goes on to say that he thought the Chapters of old

did this (an opinion which has no very strong historical position, it is to be feared).

"Why should they not now? Cathedrals are very valuable in many ways, and the influence one of the learned clergy carries with him into the diocese is of the utmost value; still, we want something more aggressive, and, if possible, something starting from the Chapter. I should like to see connected with the Cathedral two or three clergymen as special diocesan missionaries."

Again, about the same time, he writes :—

"February 22nd, 1872.

"I certainly do not desire to see Deans and Chapters cut down. What I should like would be to see them diocesan and not monastic, working with the Bishop; not interposing the Dean between him and themselves, so that the Dean should claim to be an independent and often antagonistic potentate. I have no doubt that in the palmy days of Episcopacy it was very necessary to remind the Bishop that he was mortal. Now, there is no curate in the diocese that does not consider opposition to his Bishop an important part of the whole duty of man, and a continual seton in the shape of a Dean is no longer necessary. I do not say this with reference to Dean M[erivale], for he is most good-natured and pleasant. I am sure Chapters will be more influential and more happy if they work with the Bishop and look on him as their own and not something quite strange to them.

"Ever very affectionately yours,

"E. H. ELY."

In the letter on "Bishops and Cathedrals" quoted above, he lays down very clearly what was his real desire in the matter of Cathedral Reform. Dean Goulburn had resented the notion that the Bishops wished "to merge the Cathedral clergy in their dioceses"; and the Bishop replies that "much will depend on the sense attached by you to the word 'merge.'"

"If it means to sink them into parish priests, and turn

the Cathedrals into mere parish churches, I do not think any Bishop has ever dreamed so wild a dream. Many of us do wish, and many who are not Bishops wish most earnestly, even more for the sake of the Cathedrals than for the sake of the dioceses, that the capitular bodies should be restored to their ancient diocesan position and their ancient diocesan functions, as the Bishop's Council, as the leaders, with the Bishop, of all good works, not only in the Cathedral town, but in every portion of the diocese; and that in place of the jealousy, which has hitherto been chronic and incurable, between Bishops and Deans on one hand, and between Cathedral and parochial clergy on the other, there could be established a good understanding and a harmonious co-operation between Bishop, Chapter, and parochial clergy, everywhere and in every way."

And at the end of the same letter he adds :—

"I am sure that the Dean and Chapter may have every reasonable independence, with yet all due respect to the constitutional position of the Bishop, not as head of the *Chapter*, but as Ordinary and chief pastor of the *Cathedral*. I believe, moreover, that the only hope of saving the Cathedral bodies is to make them once more part, and the highest and chief part, of the great machinery of the Church in each diocese."

And he sums all up by speaking of the "true diocesan system, as a spiritual commonwealth under a paternal government"; a phrase which happily expresses the anxious care with which, while he aimed at the constitutional development of all diocesan life, he also jealously guarded his own position as the ecclesiastical head. He should be the "benevolent despot" and the diocese should be guided into the paths of active and harmonious work. He was not unaware that such a theory of the episcopal power and authority clashed here and there with the legal status of those under his rule. It is one of the anomalies of the Church as by law established that men were often almost independent under him. We have seen it in his

brushes with the Deans of his Cathedrals ; it appears also in the impatience with which he regarded the tendency of parochial clergy to retreat behind their freeholds, and to turn the ancient parish system of England into a kind of Congregationalism.

In his efforts to carry out this reform and to secure the real help of his Chapters he followed two different lines in his two dioceses. In 1872 he expressed himself as distinctly opposed to that very principle of concentration on the Cathedral city which he afterwards carried out at Winchester. He then thought it would be best that the four Canons should have their own spheres of light and influence, one in each of the four divisions of his diocese, and only be at Ely for their Residences ; in other words, he wished to keep them in direct touch with parish work and the practical organisation of the diocese. On the other hand, at Winchester he had the appointment of all the five canonries in his hands, and (except in the case of the Archdeacon of Surrey, whose position is somewhat different from that of the others) stipulated at each successive vacancy that the new Canon should give up his parish and dedicate himself entirely to diocesan work. He appointed his three Archdeacons to three of the stalls, and then, in the two remaining stalls, gave to one Canon charge of the religious education of the diocese, and to the other supervision of Mission work. Four of the five Winchester Canons thus had given up all other duties, and were settled in permanent homes in the Cathedral Close.

This was his reply to the question so often asked in these practical days, What is the use of a Cathedral establishment ? He did not care to shelter it behind the time-honoured plea of dignity, or treat it as a place of honourable retirement for worn-out clerics, or defend it as the home of cultured literary ease ; nor did he say much

about a Cathedral as a pattern of daily worship for a diocese, or build on the magnificence of the fabric. His one desire was to make the Cathedral the true centre of his diocesan system ; to place there the best men he could select to lead in the different branches of the work, and to use them as his council and advisers in all diocesan matters.

It is not always easy or simple to carry out such a scheme ; Deans may be restive, Canons unwilling ; but some such application of the Cathedral body to practical work is necessary if the institution is to survive. The Chapters will not last, unless they prove themselves useful to the Church. In cities which have great populations the Cathedral staff may find plentiful opportunities at home ; where the Cathedral stands in a little country town or village, the staff will have in the end to be employed throughout the diocese as the Bishop's lieutenants, the leaders of every good work, the skilled teachers and preachers of the Gospel.

In speaking of the Conferences established by the Bishop we noticed his strong desire to enlist in all kinds of Church work the help of the laity as well as the more formal and official services of the clergy. He greatly desired to see a system of authorised lay readers or lay evangelists, which might secure to the Church the enthusiasm and energy of many who are often drawn away from us by finding work ready to their hand elsewhere. He hoped to see mission-work in various forms much developed and expanded ; "the Wesleyans," he says, "have created the very mission agencies we lack and must get. Oh that they would but come in to us !" The difficulties in the way of organising lay-work among men proved too great for him, so that, though he admitted a few lay-readers, beginning in 1869, but little result followed from it. On the other hand, he

was one of the first to see the importance of obtaining the great benefit of women's work in the Church, and guided with much skill and moderation the system of deaconesses, which he carried over with such success to Winchester that his successor did not hesitate to speak of it as "one of the best bits of work that my venerated predecessor ever took in hand." The Bishop's aim was to steer clear of the more formal dedications and vows imposed on women in sisterhoods, and to make his deaconess-system take up a position half-way between women bound by solemn vows and the simpler machinery of parish and district visitors.

One would think that no doubt could possibly be thrown on the wisdom of a plan by which the energies of devoted women might be secured for social and religious work. There are great reserves of strength and work in the women of England for all good and noble objects; and the system of deaconesses, on which many have looked coldly and with a most undeserved suspiciousness, was so framed as to elicit the power of work, while it also discouraged mere excitable feeling. It was also a most praiseworthy attempt to revive in the English Church the ancient and distinct Order of women dedicated to the humaner side of religious work, the friends of the sufferer and the heart-broken, the advisers of struggling workers in their homes. In no more effectual way does our Church hold out a friendly hand to the wage-earner. These pious and earnest women can find open hearts where the clergyman would meet only with respect, if even with that; they can pass safely, as messengers of gentle sympathy and compassion, ministers of the love of Christ, through the darkest byways of the world.

Attention had been called to the office of Deaconess early in the present century, when Robert Southey advo-

cated the revival of it about 1820: it was actively taken up in Germany at Kaiserwerth, where a Deaconess' Home was opened in 1833. In England the thought long found no acceptance; the first note of interest in the subject is to be found in a paper on Church Deaconesses written by the Rev. R. J. Hayne, Vicar of Buckland Monachorum, and published in 1859. Soon after this, in 1862, Dean Howson, then Head of the Liverpool College, read a paper on the subject at the Church Congress in Oxford.

Bishop Harold Browne had begun to deal with the subject in a very simple way. On February 5th, 1869, in the Palace at Ely, he admitted Miss Fanny Elizabeth Eagles as a deaconess for St. Peter's, Bedford, and thus set in motion a matter he had much at heart. There had been a committee of the last Diocesan Conference, which reported this year on the subject, and said that "it had discussed the two systems under which women are now working, the one with, the other without vows, and had decided unanimously in favour of the latter."

In his Address at the admission and dedication of this lady the Bishop distinctly avoids any words which might seem to point to a lifelong vow expressed or understood; he speaks to the Deaconess admitted as being called to work in this manner "as long as God shall call you to this office"; and only stipulates that she shall continue steadfast in it for "two years at least, unless by competent authority you shall be released from the same." He also points out to her definitely the limits and extent of her work. She should "seek out the sick, poor, and impotent folk," and "intimate their names to the curate; should instruct the young, in school or otherwise, minister to those in hospitals, prisons, or asylums; and, setting aside all unwomanly usurpation of authority in the Church, should seek to edify the souls of Christ's people in the faith."

These instructions and exhortations are re-echoed in a sermon on "Phœbe the Deaconess of the Church which is at Cenchrea," preached by the Bishop in St. Michael's, Paddington, on May 7th, 1871, on behalf of the Deaconess' Institution.

The Bishop summoned a meeting, in December 1870, at Ely, at which the Dean of Chester and other friends were present, in order to settle the bases of the movement. The results were embodied in a series of regulations, afterwards worked into actual rules, which defined the position and indicated the duties of the office.

The meeting also arranged the manner in which the subject should be brought directly before the Church. It was agreed that first the Bishops of London and Chester, and then the Bishop of Salisbury, should be asked to accept the rules; and that when a few signatures had been obtained the statement should be printed and sent round to all the Bishops. This paper was in the end signed before circulation by the Bishops of London, Ely, Chester, Salisbury, Peterborough, and Bath and Wells. The appeal received considerable attention; and, two years later, Bishop Harold Browne thought the time come for a still more definite attempt to organise the Institution. He accordingly drew up a statement on the subject, and called a meeting at Ely House on May 14th, 1872, at which he presided. There were present also the Bishops of Chichester, Peterborough, Salisbury, Oxford, and Llandaff, Bishop McDougall, and many others. Seventeen of the English Bishops had signed the paper of Principles and Rules for Deaconesses; and several ladies already at work in different dioceses were present at the meeting.

The Bishop of Ely described the movement as being both parochial and diocesan; he was specially anxious to make it clear that there was no intention of organising

the Deaconess' Institution in antagonism to existing or future Sisterhoods in the Church; that there was room enough and work enough for both, though the life of a Sister might be more fascinating, and might carry with it attractions to the gentler sex peculiar to itself, while the deaconess plan had no such glamour about it. Yet he preferred it to the Sisterhoods, because it was an organisation based on Scripture, and sanctioned by apostolic and primitive practice, and because it was to be an integral part of the English parochial system, worked with concurrence of the parish clergyman and under definite and direct episcopal sanction.

The Bishop also drew up a long paper on the subject, in which he sums up his views in the following passages :—

“ It seems, then, that in the Primitive Church there were three orders of the ministry of men, viz., Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons (not, as the Roman Church would have it, ‘Priests, Deacons, and Sub-deacons’), and one order of women, viz., Deaconesses. All these were admitted by the imposition of episcopal hands. To me it appears that Bishop Lightfoot was right when he said that the ministry of the Church lacks full apostolical character whilst it lacks the order of Deaconesses. I cannot admit that any local councils had the power to abolish an ordinance of the Apostles and a practice of the Primitive Church. Could even a true General Council do so? I cannot find that there were any substantial charges brought against deaconesses. The growing practice of separating the sexes, and confining them to separate buildings and occupations, though the exigency of the times may have excused this, cannot excuse the abolition of a primitive Order. I cannot admit that deaconesses were only used for the sake of decency in adult baptisms and the like. They evidently visited the sick and poor, and did other women’s work which we now need so much. I deny emphatically that there is any special danger of arrogance. The danger, as far as I have seen in twenty-eight years’ experience, is that deaconesses are humbled and depressed by finding them-

selves looked down upon, as in a lower spiritual condition than professed 'Sisters.'

"The Anglican Church stands or falls as she is true or untrue to primitive principles. If a great primitive principle or practice has been given up, she is bound, if possible, to revive it. I greatly acknowledge the blessed work which convents of men and women did in rude ages, when violence stalked abroad and when faith and purity could only be guarded within well-defended walls. But, I submit, that these are much more of an anachronism than deaconesses, who are specially suited to the wants of the present age. I hope the conflict between regulars and seculars, which rent the mediæval Church asunder, will not now drive out of our own communion the persons who of all others seem most suited to organise that woman's work so needed for reaching those whom men can, at the best, reach very imperfectly."

This new organisation, thus ably started, has on the whole had but a feeble existence. No part of the Church's work brings us nearer to the practical needs and the daily life of the people; and where the system has been fairly worked the results have been excellent. It is very much to be hoped that the impulse given to it by the Bishop, and, almost as much, by Mrs. Harold Browne, at Ely and Winchester, may still lead to a large and wholesome development of deaconess-work in every part of the country, and especially among large manufacturing populations. The Bishop watched over the Institution, when he came to Farnham, with singular good will; it has found a permanent home at Portsmouth, where it has been under the guidance and management of its devoted Head, Sister Emma, with a sympathetic and hearty adviser and friend in Canon Durst, who was appointed by the Bishop to be Warden of that modest and valuable little community, which makes its Christian influence so well felt in Portsmouth and Eastleigh and Aldershot.

CHAPTER IV.

LATER YEARS IN THE DIOCESE OF ELY.

BISHOP HAROLD BROWNE not only organised his diocese ; he illustrated the working of that organisation by his example. He was at every man's call, sparing not himself, in spite of his weak health, spending himself and being spent for Christ. His friends often regretted his kind inability to disappoint those who appealed to him. His purse, his strength, his voice, were plundered by all who were in need. He undertook many sermons which must have been a serious strain on him. Thus he preached (July 4th, 1868) in St. Paul's at the Charity Children's Festival ; an occasion which interested and gladdened his child-loving fatherly heart. On another occasion (in September 1869) he preached at the opening of the newly-restored Parish Church of Aylesbury. There he had been christened many years before. After the service there came the inevitable luncheon, and after luncheon the terrible speeches. One of these, however, is interesting to us, as it elicited a little touch of reminiscence. The Bishop's health was proposed by Mr. Acton Tindal a very old friend and playfellow of his, and he told the company that in their childhood the Bishop and he used to sit "in a place which was nicknamed the 'Birdcage,' into which the voice of the preacher could hardly enter, and whence the sounds of the sleeper could scarcely emerge." One can imagine the look of amusement with

which the Bishop gravely assured the party, when he rose to reply, that whatever Mr. Tindal might have done, he himself never went to sleep there, even under those most favourable circumstances.

In this same year, in the month of May alone, he consecrated no less than five new churches, and in speaking on the subject ventured to doubt whether at any time since the beginning of the Christian era any Bishop had ever consecrated so many churches in a single month. He also sometimes took the lead, as once at Bedford, in those exhausting forms of evangelistic effort, parochial missions; and by this encouragement, and by the earnestness he threw into the work, greatly forwarded a movement which has done much to deepen and strengthen the spiritual life of the Church, and may yet become her most potent engine, when she sets herself seriously to face the tremendous problem of the working man's life and religion.

The Bishop's Charge of 1869 brings to the front the vast question of the relations of Christian Churches to one another, and the complex difficulties which beset every attempt to forward the cause of Christian unity. For this was the time at which the Papacy summoned what it styled "an Œcumenical Council," in which those who guided the counsels of the Roman Church desired to advance into matters of faith certain doctrines and views respecting the nature and worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and respecting the position of the Bishop of Rome as the infallible oracle of the Church. The Bishop was much moved. It seemed to him that the pretensions of Rome took a specially offensive form at the outset, in the manner in which the invitations to the Council were graduated. He writes thus:—

"All Roman Catholic Bishops have received a direct invitation. The Eastern Churches have been invited also,

but the invitation implies that they are in a state of schism. The Bishops of the Anglican Communion and those of the Scandinavian Churches are either summoned under the general head of all Bishops, or under the general head of Protestants and other non-Catholics; or, lastly, they are not summoned at all." He adds the significant warning that, if invited at all, "the invitation is not only to be present but to submit."

The Eastern Patriarchs, he goes on to say, had definitely refused to appear, alleging as their reasons—not specially strong ones—that, first, the Patriarch of Rome had not consulted them before calling the Council; and, secondly, because the day selected for the opening was a day not recognised in the Eastern Churches, that of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Our Bishop then gives his own reasons for refusing to appear at the Vatican. These are, first, the grounds formulated by the Eastern Patriarchs; and, secondly, the doubt as to whether the Anglican Bishops are really invited at all. It is clear that the Roman Bishops in England are definitely summoned: "If we are English Bishops, they are not; and, on the other hand, if they are the Catholic Bishops of England, we are not Bishops at all." One can imagine the smile with which the Vatican people would rejoin, "Why, precisely so." He adds also that from the beginning Britain was never truly within the Patriarchate of Rome.

There can be no doubt that the startling claims made at this time by Rome turned our Bishop's mind in a direction in which it was prepared to travel. His yearning for Christian Unity was shocked by seeing that Rome applied to the problem the simplest of all formulas—a formula which we are all only too much inclined to use, "Submit yourselves to me, and Unity is won." This bold claim, with the surrender of all private judgment or

ecclesiastical liberties, was too much for him, as it was for all free-minded men. The Bishop's efforts for the Unity of Christendom will be referred to later on.

These years were a difficult and troubled time for the Church. As he had written in 1860, so was it when he went to Ely.

"I look forward," he writes, May 23rd, 1860, "to a very anxious time soon. The present condition is too marked to last long. The strong tendency to Rome and Rationalism must lead to some outbreak soon"; and again, addressing Mr. Walter James, he reverts to his alarms in even stronger language. "I think much as you do about politics. We are in a fearful crisis in Church and State. I do not trust any of our rulers to carry us well through it, excepting Him who ruleth in the heavens. The Church as an establishment is very likely to go; but then, if we can make peace within, she may be strong in her spiritual strength. The danger is that when the State scaffolding is taken down, all the stones and timbers will be found loosened and disjointed. If it be so, Rome and heathenism will divide the spoil; but I trust it will not be so."

There was irritation within and without the Church. The aggressive High Church party, as it grew stronger, aroused the vehement antagonism of those who fought under the revered name of Lord Shaftesbury, not because of his benevolence and good works, but for his theological narrowness; with his aid they tried to crush their opponents, and, if that could not be done, then to drive them out of the English Church. Between the combatants stood a group of moderate Anglicans, sympathising with neither party, liking neither the innovations of the one side nor the narrow conservatism of the other. The Bishop of Lincoln received from the Bishop of Rochester, and forwarded on to Bishop Harold Browne in 1865, a letter on "subjects for consideration," which shews how anxious the moderates were to discourage extremes. The subjects were:—

"1. The Address of the Bishops in 1851 to check ritual and rubrical excesses.

"2. How to act where the law as now interpreted is insufficient to restrain ill-advised clergymen.

"3. How to rebuke the public exhibition of vestments and unauthorised services lately paraded before the Church at Norwich.

"4. The choral system and its tendencies evidently alien to the promotion of simple congregational psalmody.

"5. Queen Emma's cause.

"6. On the General Thanksgiving : on repeating it aloud by the whole congregation like the General Confession."

Soon after these days the Ritual Commission came into being, to inquire into the rubrics, etc., for public worship, the ornaments used in churches, the vestments to be worn by the clergy in their ministrations, and to suggest alterations, improvements, or amendments in such matters ; also to revise the Proper Lessons for Sundays and Holy Days, and the general Table of Lessons. The Commission sat in the Jerusalem Chamber, and began its work in June 1867.

A little before this time, in 1866, having been appealed to by a friend to give his opinion on the much agitated questions of the character of the Holy Communion in the English Church, Bishop Harold Browne wrote a pamphlet in letter form, under the title of "Sacrifice—Altar—Priest : in six letters to a Friend."

This weighty series of papers was elicited by the declaration of his "Friend," that the Bishop's words had "seemed to deny the existence of a true altar and of a literal sacrifice in the Church." Thus challenged, he was not at all unwilling to state, with wonted learning and moderation, what seemed to him to be the position of the English Church on these important and rather intricate matters.

He begins by begging to be allowed to lay down definitions ; for most differences and disagreements are due to the want of them. So he appeals at once to the

Hebrew for "sacrifice" and "altar"; it being obvious that all the sacrificial language of the New Testament is directly borrowed from the Old, and also that the Greek language had to coin certain phrases or words to meet this transference from the Hebrew. And he ends his first letter by saying that, in theological language, though in secondary and improper senses we may call other things "sacrifices" or "altars," yet in strict use "sacrifice" is always the slaying of a victim, and "altar" the place whereon the victim dies.

To this letter the "Friend" replied that the Bishop had invented a meaning for "altar" and "sacrifice," and had inferred thence that in those senses the terms might be used of the Holy Table and the Holy Eucharist.

This carries the Bishop, in his second letter, a stage farther on his path. It must be granted that "sacrifice," "altar," and the related terms come to us from the Old Testament. The early Christians knew the Jewish distinction between the sacrifice with the blood-shedding and the sacrifice without it; and he shews that the "pure offering," the phrase used by Malachi (i. 11), is frequently applied by the writers of the Primitive Church to the Holy Eucharist, and is the sacrifice without shedding of blood.

The same thing is true of the use of "altar," whereon was a distinctly "commemorative sacrifice,"—*i.e.*, an action performed which was not strictly sacrificial, but only commemorative of the One Sacrifice on the Cross. And he draws the conclusion that the Churches should have communion tables, which, being the place of this solemn "commemorative sacrifice," may also without impropriety be styled "altars." This is very different from the usage of the Roman Church, which makes the Communion sacrifice a "*verum et proprium sacrificium*."

When the primitive Church was reproached by the

heathen that it had no sacrificial altars, the reply was, "Non *altaria* fabricamus, non *aras*," and down to the third and fourth centuries they carefully used the beautiful word *εὐχαριστία*, or thank-offering, to express the "sacrifice" of the Holy Communion. The Bishop ends by saying that there is "but one sacrifice, that of Christ on the Cross, of which the Passover was the type and the Eucharist the memorial." In the fourth letter the Bishop returns to the analogy between the Passover and the Eucharist. In the former there was (1) the slaying of the victim, and (2) the feasting on the slain. So in the Eucharist the actual sacrifice of Christ on the Cross is commemorated in the breaking of bread and pouring forth of wine, while the second part of the Passover, the feasting, is represented in the actual partaking of the holy elements.

And in this way, says good Bishop Andrewes, "Good Friday is His, Easter Day ours; the Passover doth not conclude in the sacrifice the taking away of sin only, that is, in a pardon and there an end; but in a feast, which is a sign not of forgiveness only but of perfect amity, full propitiation."

And he ends the letter by pointing out that Andrewes was "very high on the Eucharist;" that is, was thoroughly and strictly Anglican, but not in the least Roman.

From Andrewes the Bishop (in his fifth letter) passes on to Cosin, shewing that he too is distinctly opposed to the Roman doctrine of the "real, proper, propitiatory sacrifice" in the Eucharist, and to the actual transubstantiation of the elements; but that he held that there was an actual Eucharistic sacrifice, and a sacramental spiritual presence in the souls (not in the bodies) of those who faithfully receive that holy sacrament. He sums up the subject by pointing out that in the Funeral Discourse on Bishop Andrewes it is said that "*Crux est altare Christi*," and

that Christ cannot truly be offered or sacrificed again, and that the representation of an action cannot be the action itself.

The remaining letter treats of the word "priest" in the same manner. The word itself is "Presbyter writ small"; yet it is a transference from the Hebrew "Cohen." But the sacrifices which this Christian Priest offers up are sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving, the true Eucharistic sacrifices.

This it was that led the Bishop to the very end of his life to dislike the "Eastward Position," because he thought it was distinctly associated with a tendency to confuse the literal with the figurative sacrifice of the Christian altar; and for the same reason he was shy of using, without limitation, the word Altar when speaking of the Holy Communion.

Before long the subject came before the lawyers. The Bishop's utterances on the judgment in the Court of Arches on the "Purchas case" were exceedingly prudent. In one of his addresses (in 1871) he gives a very reasonable and moderate statement as to the authority and value of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, saying that "according to the present constitution in Church and State there is no means whatever of arriving at a final conclusion on the significance of some confessedly obscure rubrics, except by an appeal to this Judicial Committee"; and he charges distinctly in favour of obedience to the Law when stated by that body.

"There have always," he adds, "been two great schools of thought in the Church, and it would be an evil day for us all if one of these schools should have the will and the power to crush out the other."

And then counselling wise obedience he adds that—

"He confessed he was unable to understand how, for instance, the meaning, the solemnity, or the efficiency of a

Sacrament ordained by Christ Himself for our soul's health, and therefore sure to bless those who receive it aright, could be materially affected by the posture or position of him who ministered it, or the cut or colour of the vestments in which he ministered. . . . The straining after uniformity in minor matters has too often broken the unity in faith and charity and brotherly love"; and he ends by hoping that the Church will arrive at a temperate middle course, in which all may join in fighting against "the leaguered hosts of unbelief."

For his alarm was great lest infidelity should get the upper hand in Europe. "There is creeping up," he says, "silently, and scarcely silently, an infidelity of an extent never before known in Europe"; and he does not shrink from using the old and unjust argument, that the unbelievers stir up one another to infidelity (which is true enough), "and consequently to immorality of life," which is certainly not true in our day of many of the leaders of opinion opposed to the Christian faith. They are only too ready to retaliate by charging us with neglecting, for the sake of our creeds, the rudiments of morality and the just principles of social life.

Not long after the Purchas Judgment the very different Bennett Judgment was given in 1872, in the Court of Arches. In this Sir R. Phillimore decided that a minister of the Church of England might say that there is an actual and real presence in the Holy Communion, external to the worshipper, and in the consecrated elements; but that it would be unlawful to teach (1) that there is a visible presence of Our Lord on the altar at the celebration of Holy Communion, and (2) that adoration is due to the elements. The Judicial Committee declared on appeal that the Court of Arches was not a Synod, and had no authority to enunciate any doctrine of the Church of England, but only to decide whether a man's utterances were or were not

a contravention of the formularies of the Church, and therefore, if so, liable to punishment. They decided first, that Mr. Bennett's utterances on the Real Presence did not contradict the Church's formularies. Next, as to the declaration by Mr. Bennett that the Holy Table is an altar of sacrifice, they reply that they do not think it clear that he uses the word "sacrifice" in such a way as to contradict the language of the formularies. And, lastly, as to the adoration; they came to the conclusion (not without doubts and division of opinions) that this third charge was not so clearly made out as to justify penal proceedings; and that respondent was entitled to the benefit of the doubt. And so in the end they only admonish Mr. Bennett that his language is rash and ill-judged, and perilously near a violation of the law. And so, here again, the decision of the Judicial Committee was favourable to liberty.

This judgment was deeply interesting to our Bishop; his words on it, as usual, are judicious and sensible :—

"The Court," he says, "has indeed ruled that a clergyman cannot be punished for maintaining 'a real, actual, objective Presence in the Eucharist, so long as he does not teach that it is the corporal presence of the natural body of Christ in the elements. And as the Apostle tells us that the body of Christ is no longer natural but spiritual, it is not likely that any well-educated clergyman will assert a natural presence now.

"On the other hand, the Court has stated, in a dictum perhaps extra-judicial, that the Church has not by her Articles and formularies *affirmed* any presence in the Eucharist which is not a presence to the soul of the faithful receiver. . . . I am not about to speak as a Theologian on this deep subject. I could much have desired that it had been left in the depth of its profound and blessed mystery. The modern terms of 'objective' and 'Receptionist' seem well nigh as much to be deprecated as the more ancient distinction between 'substance' and 'accident,' a distinction which modern philosophy refuses to accept, and yet without which the theories known as Transubstantiation and Con-

substantiation become simply impossible. Leaving these questions for the present, I gladly express my satisfaction that neither in the one direction nor in the other has the judgment of the Court narrowed the terms of our Communion. I hold as an axiom too plain to be questioned that the Church is not a Church but a sect, unless it can embrace every faithful Christian"—and the Bishop goes on to define the "good Christian" as one who acknowledges "the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Sacrifice, the Judgment."

These struggles between the revived belief in the vital powers of the Church, as distinct from the elementary need of personal religion in the individual, fill up a large part of the Bishop's years at Ely. At one time it is a contest as to vestments, at another about postures, at another about the nature of the Presence of our Lord, things best when felt, worst when defined; again, the Bishop has to make reply to the sixty thousand of the laity who remonstrated against ritual; or to the four hundred and eighty of the clergy who, on the contrary, called for an advance in the opposite direction. In replying to these, he tries to allay fever, by pointing out a more serious danger, the danger from independent thought, that true, if disowned, child of Protestantism. He had found, he told them, among the young men he had examined "little or no bias towards Romanism; oftener, I regret to say, some little tendency towards Rationalism or extreme Liberalism." It was rather a dangerous hint: more than once in the history of religious parties we have seen an alarming attempt to bring about a coalition between High Church and Low, not for the purpose of seeing how far they could agree together, or even whether they might agree to differ, but in order that they might fall with the greater weight on the liberal party in the Church, and either crush or expel it. Happily this narrowing of our Church has never succeeded.

"Church Education" seems always to be on the edge of a crisis ; and certainly in 1870 there were some grounds for saying so. We do not find that the Bishop of Ely was seized with the customary panic ; he saw clearly enough that the right course for the Church was to preserve her schools, where she could reasonably do it ; and where not, instead of lavishing abuse on the State for her honourable attempt to secure the education of every citizen, to take steps to secure religious teaching as a reality. He was alarmed, as he shews when speaking on the subject at Ely (October 18th, 1870) :—

"I think meetings are desirable, as the clergy and laity seem very apathetic, not, as I believe, at all alive to the extreme difficulty of making a rate-paid school anything but purely secular ; and the probability that under a successful secular system there will be no other education, Sunday schools, night schools, etc., all pretty certainly failing before it. I am anxious that the clergy should not shut their eyes to the danger of rate-paid schools. A little exertion and self-denial now may save us from what I am sure must result from the School Board system, viz., the entire exclusion of the clergy from all share in the teaching of the children of the poor."

It is not quite easy to realise the tone of mind of a man who saw with his own eyes all manner of religious agencies springing up into life and vigour, and who yet despaired, as he often seemed to do, of the future of religion in this country. There is a tone of despondency about his utterances ; he is not like Bishop Wilberforce, sanguine, hopeful, on the crest of a swelling tide ; it seems to him that politically and religiously England was plunging into the darkness. We can see a little later, in 1872, how he proposed to face the problems arising from the Elementary Education Act of 1870. He desired, as we all do, to "strengthen and encourage religious education in Church

schools, and especially in those which should hereafter be carried on as public elementary schools under the new Act." So that he does not speak in 1872 of Board Schools as naturally and inevitably hostile to Christianity, or as things to be passed by in horror. The practical upshot was the organisation of a Diocesan Board of Education, first, to supply inspection in religious teaching for Church schools; secondly, to draw up a scheme of religious teaching; and, thirdly, to provide for the examination of pupil teachers.

One important matter remains, the agitation over the disestablishment and partial disendowment of the English Church in Ireland, which went on from 1868 to 1872. That our Bishop regarded the subject with great anxiety is clear from his visitations in 1869.

"This year," he says, "for the first time since the gospel came into the world, has a Christian nation solemnly and deliberately—I say not now whether wisely or not—cast off its connection with the Christian Church in one integral portion of its empire, has diverted to secular purposes all that which had been set aside for more than a thousand years by the piety of forefathers for the maintenance of the worship and the faith of Christ."

The passage is scarcely one of historical exactness; it is given here to shew with what emotion the Bishop, himself an Anglo-Irishman, regarded the stroke which had fallen on the Anglican Church in Ireland. He first threw in the weight of his influence on the side of what is styled "Concurrent Endowment," as we learn from a letter of his addressed to Bishop McDougall:—

"ELY HOUSE, *July 3rd*, 1869.

"I voted for concurrent endowment last night to the extent of providing houses and glebes for clergy of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, and for the Pres-

byterians. I think it would be far better than confiscating gifts to God for lunatics and monthly nurses, and that it would have been really the most healing measure ; but the Liberation Society overawed the Whigs, and the Ultra-Protestants frightened the Tories, and so neither party voted as a large proportion of them thought would be best."

The thought underlying this plan is that the State regards all religious opinions as on the same level, and, considering religion as a help to Government, is willing to join in keeping it alive in the world. It was Hume's view, but certainly not the view of the Bishop of Ely.

There are several lines of argument against the disestablishment and disendowment of a national Church. The most untenable is perhaps the most common : how often have we heard the impassioned orator, the fiery pamphleteer, denounce it as if it were a proposal to destroy the Church itself. Listening to much of the eloquence lavished on this topic, one has to ask whether it is true, as some of our Roman critics love to tell us, that we are nothing but a state-born creation, a "special department"; that our creeds are of no importance, our orders a delusion, our religious faith and principles a shadow ! Those who use this argument are but poor friends to Christianity. No human being ventures to say that an Established Church of any kind existed before Constantine ; it is to be hoped that no one thinks that the Christian religion was first invented by that great Emperor. Anyhow, the Bishop of Ely, though in some more rhetorical passages he comes rather near it, is careful to avoid such a fatal line of argument. To him, as, let us hope, to us also, the Church is the reality, the Establishment is but the accident. He says, and it sounds rather strange and unlike what one would expect (July 18th, 1868) :—"I do not care for disestablishment, if it did not carry dis-

endowment, though I do not think a nation ought to be without a national Church through which it may utter its voice to God." And in another place he says, very sensibly, that "if the clergy prefer their own ease to the souls of their people, the Church as an Establishment, *i.e.* as a Church acknowledged by the nation, must go, and ought to go." And again, he does not lose sight of what is behind. "We met at Lambeth yesterday (February 9th, 1869) about the Irish Church and other matters; but I do not think we did much. Between ourselves, the two Primates think too much of the *Establishment* and too little of the *Church*. I would fight for the Establishment while there was hope; but, if we are beaten upon that, I am for making the best terms for the Church that can be got."

It will be seen from this that the Bishop was very far from being a fanatical defender of Established Churches, as such; and, in truth, his utterances seemed to many eager partisans to be far too moderate. He was above all things fair-minded; and no warmth of feeling—and he did feel warmly on the point—blinded his eyes to the truth. He therefore both said things and made admissions which shocked out-and-out "Church and State" people.

There are several lines of argument on which, at different epochs, Church Establishments have been, and often still are, defended. There is the argument from Historical Antiquity, and the respect due to ancient institutions; there is the now unused argument that the Established Church exclusively represents the truth, while no other religious body does so; or, put another way, that in some unexplained manner the State chose out the true form of religion and adopted it as its own; so that to all ages that chosen form alone would be worthy of State support and would enjoy the privilege of being the mouthpiece of the State or the Sovereign in all solemn ceremonies

and acts. There is the argument that a State ought to recognise God, as the people of that State do ; and that such recognition must have a convenient expression in a State Church. There is the Hume argument, that the State has in the Church a good police machinery, and therefore subsidises it, just as it does the army or navy, in order that it may help in keeping order. There is the special argument, largely used in this controversy, that the "Church of Ireland as by law established" was an element of the Act of Union, and could not be disestablished without great risk to that settlement ; there was also the facile argument that the Roman Church is the "residuary legatee" of all Established Churches, and that in Ireland, where that Church is predominant, it must reap the chief advantage from any change. There is also the social argument, that of the "educated gentleman in every parish of the land,"—which influences the opinion of the working classes as much against as for an Established Church. There is the old view that the upper classes are bound to provide the lower classes with such a religion as their own sagacity and use teaches them may be good for their dependents and labourers ; and, again, there is the view that a national Church is established and endowed by the will of the nation, expressed in such a way as the nation can express itself, and that the pre-eminence and the profit, the two elements of the position, can be taken away by those who gave it. This last way of regarding the matter brings us up into the important question of the rights of property, and to the argument that tithes and other Church property, being given by God, can be resumed only by Him.

The unsatisfactory state of the Anglican Church in Ireland had long been felt. As far back as 1833, the Irish Temporalities Act had endeavoured to diminish the evil

and get rid of some of the unpopularity of that Church. Nothing could hide from Irish eyes the fact that it was an alien body imposed on it from England ; nothing could alter the great disproportion between the numbers of those who belonged to that Church, and those Irish who were either Roman Catholics or Presbyterians. And so in 1868 the whole subject came up again, after the General Election had placed Mr. Gladstone at the head of affairs with an overwhelming majority. His Bill was carried through the Commons in 1869, by a majority of 114. The resistance to it in the Upper House was not very strong ; many were half-hearted. The Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce) abstained altogether. "I did not vote against the second reading," he says, "and if I had not missed an opportunity of expressing my views, I should have supported it." And even Lord Selborne, writing years after, could only say that he did not in 1869 think that the confiscations and confusions of the civil wars, which had given the Anglican Church in Ireland her property, were "a good reason for taking it all away."

Bishop Harold Browne had meant to speak on the second reading in the Lords ; but, finding a strong feeling that too many episcopal speeches would be a mistake, he refrained and published his thoughts in the form of a Letter entitled "A Speech not Spoken," addressed to the Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Hatherley.

This letter was temperate and courteous ; it treats matters so frankly, and makes admissions so honestly, that the more eager defenders were aghast. He begins by conceding that the Irish Church is the Church of one-ninth of the population only, and calls this an anomaly ; he also gives Mr. Gladstone full honour and credit for excellent motives. He allows that the Bill was brought in to remedy a real grievance, to conciliate a nation, to do even-handed

justice to all ; he admits that Ireland had for centuries suffered grievous wrong at the hands of her English masters ; and takes the ground from under his own feet by conceding that the "Irish Church is a badge of conquest," and by pointing out that in this respect it was but on a level with the Castle Government and the rest of it. Matters were not mended when he points out that the conquest was not one of Irish by English, or of Catholics by Protestants, but of the less Papal Irish Church by the Norman Papal Catholics. The same power in Church and State which had conquered England undertook also the conquest of Ireland. The evils which vexed Ireland had existed also in England ; England had modified and softened them ; in Ireland they had been hardened and made more and more repulsive by successive acts of conquest.

He speaks boldly of the faults of the ruling nation. He points out that the English at the Reformation made the fatal blunder of forbidding the Irish language, and of treating the reformed Episcopal Church of Ireland as English in all respects. Naturally, the Roman Church stepped in as the champion of the people. Her clergy encouraged the Irish language, fostered the Irish nationality, and swept off with it the bulk of the impulsive Irish people. The English lords of the land learnt nothing by this. They steadily treated the Established Church as a plunder-ground, regarding it as they long regarded India, simply as a place in which money could be made. Bishop Harold Browne says honestly that the richest preferments were filled with "ecclesiastics who would not have been tolerated in like positions in England."

Having granted these points, he then proceeds, very ingeniously and moderately, to base his opposition to this disestablishment and disendowment, first, on the Anglican view, which he always supported warmly, that the Aposto-

lical Succession was never broken in Ireland or in England, and that therefore the "Protestant" Episcopal Church was the true Church of Ireland; and, next, he urges the somewhat ineffective argument that as the nations of England and Ireland have become one, so the Churches of the two countries have also become one Church, and therefore that the large majority in England may still, by a kind of continued conquest, be allowed to supplement the small minority in Ireland. "It was obvious that the minority must yield to the majority, though unfortunately the great body of the dissentients were separated from the great body of the conformists by seventy miles of sea."

The best part of the "Speech not Spoken" is the close, in which, having thus coupled the two Churches together, he declares that the Church of England, like that of Ireland, though it may cease to be national, will still survive and will still be strong. And then he passes on to sketch with the force of conviction the future of the Anglican Communion across the world:—

"By good and steady organisation it may perhaps be kept as one great patriarchate, united and independent. It cannot be done if every private opinion and every sectarian prejudice be pressed against the common good and to the disunion of the whole. But if clergy and laity will join together with mutual confidence, if men will fight and pray against extreme practices, against personal whims, against isolated and insubordinate courses, if they will renounce bitter recriminations, and, above all, discredit and discountenance violent religious periodicals (on the one side or the other), there may be a hope that United Anglicanism—at home, in America, and in the Colonies—may hold fast to catholic, primitive, and evangelical truth, though its nationalism may have been scattered to the winds of heaven."

This letter was first sent to Lord Hatherley before

publication, and received from that zealous Churchman the following kindly acknowledgment :—

“ June 4th, 1869.

“ MY DEAR LORD,—I cannot regard your honouring me by the Address of your ‘unspoken Speech’ otherwise than as a mark of your kindness and your belief that I am capable of appreciating all arguments—a habit indeed that must necessarily be formed by judicial experience. I can assure you I feel that it is a blessing to any *State* to be enfolded within the Church, though it is not so easy for the Church to profit by the State’s aid without loss of its own purity ; but a “National” Church forced on a nation is to me something *ἄτοπον*. I can’t literally find a place for it in my conception ; and to have the English branch of the Church supposed to be bound to maintain that view would all but make me despair of our future. I confess I can and do (dream of, perhaps) conceive the great Western branch of the Church Catholic as literally spreading over the earth as the waters cover the sea—not the corrupt but reformed Western Church, including not impossibly the Churches of Italy and Spain, but at least those of America (North) and Australia.

“ Believe me, with great respect,

“ Yours very faithfully,

“ HATHERLEY.”

In reply to this note, the Bishop made the following explanation, which seems to indicate that he did not feel his position very strong. It also perhaps gives a reason for his having just before advocated a policy of concurrent endowment.

“ ELY HOUSE, June 5th, 1869.

“ MY DEAR LORD,—I am much obliged to you for taking so kindly my somewhat bold address to you and use of your name. I entirely agree with you in thinking it intolerable that a Church should be forced on an unwilling nation—assuming, of course, that Ireland is a distinct nation. But may I just say these few words of explanation ?

“ The point of my argument is, that the Church was (not forced upon but) willingly and joyfully accepted by

the Irish people. If anything was forced on it, it was not the Church, but the Reformation of the Church. Much then and deeply as I value the Reformation, I can understand that a reasonable claim may be urged for the repeal of the Reformation; but I can see no case for the tremendous step of rejecting nationally the Church altogether.

"Pardon these few words of explanation, which need no reply, and believe me,

"With the truest esteem and respect,

"Your Lordship's very faithfully,

"E. H. ELY.

"THE LORD CHANCELLOR."

It was right and natural that the Bishop should send another early copy to the statesman in charge of the Bill; from whom there came a brief and vigorous reply, in very friendly language:—

"II, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,

June 8th, 1869.

"MY DEAR LORD BISHOP OF ELY,—I thank you very sincerely for your Letter to the Chancellor, which I have read with a cordial admiration of its ability, charity, and high-mindedness.

"I need hardly say that it contains much which commands my assent: much more which compels me to differ.

"Our point of parting company is the view which your Lordship takes of corporate property. The State which refuses to allow a perpetuity even in the line of natural descent can never in my opinion escape from the responsibility of a high and paramount stewardship over all corporate property whatever, ecclesiastical or lay. That passage from Bishop Butler* which has been quoted

* In a letter written December 22nd, 1747 (when he was Bishop of Bristol), that most thoughtful of prelates, discussing the position of Church property, fearlessly attacks the notion that Church goods are God's special and indefeasible gift to any Church.

"Property in general," he writes, "is and must be regulated by the laws of the community. . . . We may with good conscience retain any possession, Church lands or tithes, which the laws of the state we live under give us a property in. . . .

"Under the Mosaic dispensation, indeed, God Himself assigned to

repeatedly during this arduous controversy, expressed my *creed* upon the subject.

"I remain, with much respect, my dear Lord Bishop,

" Faithfully yours,

" W. E. GLADSTONE."

The Bill in due course of time became law ; and the Bishop referred to it more than once in his visitation addresses in the autumn of 1869. At Cambridge he went so far (in his kindly anxiety for the Irish clergy) as to suggest that "the clergy of the English Church should give one per cent. of their official incomes for so many years in aid of the Church and clergy of Ireland." This proposal came to nothing through the spirited reply of an Irish clergyman present, who assured the assembled Churchmen that it would be simply ruin to the Irish Church if it were taught to lean on any but itself for support.

In another place he ventures, in speaking on the subject, on an interesting forecast when he says that—

"Very probably we may be passing as much into another atmosphere and another world as those who lived in the time of Constantine or of Charlemagne, or of Gregory VII. or of the Reformation."

the priests and Levites tithes and other possessions ; and in those possessions they had a Divine right ; a property quite superior to all human laws, ecclesiastical as well as civil. But every donation to the Christian Church is a human donation and no more ; and therefore cannot give a Divine right, but such a right only as must be subject in common with all other property to the regulation of human laws. . . . No one can have a right to perpetuity in any land, except it be given him by God, as the land of Canaan was to Abraham. . . .

"The persons then who gave these lands to the Church had themselves no right of perpetuity in them, consequently could convey no such right to the Church. . . . I have considered tithes and Church lands as the same, because I see no sort of proof that tithes under the gospel are of Divine right ; and if they are not, they must come under the same consideration with lands."—*From Fitzgerald's Edition of Butler's Analogy*, Preface, p. xciii.

The future story of the widespread revival of religious feeling and energy in this country alone can shew how far this hopeful outlook will be justified. He was not always so sanguine.

"From Constantine to the American Revolution Christian nations have ever been in union with the Church; now in the nineteenth century we are trying the experiment of dissolving this union. . . . It is true that the real principle, idea, history, and name of a national Church have degenerated into the notion of an Established Church, and so people have thought and spoken as if the nation, finding some twenty or thirty different forms of faith, woke up one morning, and examining each form, selected one for itself and established it. But this will not stand the test of history.

". . . To pass from principle to practice, can any one doubt that the position of a Church acknowledged and defended as the National Church is far more favourable for action than that of a Church left to the precarious charity of each separate congregation? Perhaps the town clergy of a disestablished Church would be richer than at present—but how about the country parishes?

". . . The evil of the opposite system is that it can only give the supply where there is the demand, and the demand is always least where the need is greatest.

". . . If the Church ceases to be acknowledged universally as the English Church, we may strengthen our position, but must narrow it. We do not now teach youth *Church* principles, but *religious* principles; if disestablished, we should have to teach them how to justify our position. People press on us, and we follow their wishes, a liberal way of dealing with our people generally; this will become impossible if we cease to be the acknowledged Church of the nation."

Other forecasts which he made have not yet been fulfilled.

"The confiscation of tithes," he said, "will infallibly entail bloodshed and anarchy of the most fearful character, the universal absenteeism of landlords, and the probable

extermination of all Protestants"; and, again, "The English established endowed Church will not last five years after the destruction of the Irish"; and, again, "The Scotch establishment will probably go still sooner." All these things would be part of "the terrible triumph of unbelief and of the world, rationalism, radicalism, with probably an intensified and more utterly corrupted Romanism, bearing sway, and trampling down all truth and holiness."

These gloomy forebodings have not yet found their fulfilment, but have gone the way of most prophecies uttered in times of panic and excitement.

While Bishop Harold Browne was at Ely, he published many smaller pieces, some of them involving much thought and care. Some of these charges, letters, sermons, we have noticed in passing; other publications demand a word. Perhaps the most interesting of his publications in this period is a volume of three sermons preached at Cambridge, which give his views on the limits of Church comprehension, and contain an appendix stating the Bishop's views as to the Apostolical Succession, handled carefully and temperately: it served as his manifesto on the one hand against the Roman theory of the unity of the Church, and on the other against the Congregationalists with their independent Churches grouped together by a central organisation. The Bishop's yearning for unity within the English Church shews itself throughout these sermons; for the sake of it he would allow great latitude, especially on the Holy Eucharist, as to which opinions ranged from Zwinglianism to a physical theory very like Transubstantiation.

"Why can it not be that those who hold Christ *present in the hand*, and those who acknowledge Him only in the heart, should yet meet and worship, and kneel and feed together, feed on Him, who is the only food of the soul? . . .

Can any difference as to the how, the when, the where, in this presence and this sacrifice, and this feeding on the sacrifice, be comparable to the deep unity of those who believe in the Presence and the Sacrifice and the Food?"

He is willing to widen the Church's limits in this direction, though he is silent as to the amount of toleration to be conceded to independence of opinion and judgment on such matters as the authority of Holy Writ, the relations between the human and the Divine in the person of Jesus Christ, the manner of the operation of the Holy Spirit, and other points of theological nicety.

On the sudden death of Bishop Wilberforce in the autumn of 1873, the See of Winchester was offered to and accepted by the Bishop of Ely. At this moment he was intent on the celebration of the twelve-hundredth anniversary of St. Etheldreda, patron saint of Ely Cathedral; and this commemoration became the scene on which the well-loved Bishop bade farewell to his flock. His sermon on the occasion aroused the bitter hostility of the Romanists in England. He enlarged, as might have been foreseen from his well-known views, on the unity from earliest days of the Church of England.

It now only remained for him to bid farewell to his friends and the diocese over which he had ruled so well. The clergy of the archdeaconry of Bedford expressed the general feeling respecting him when they thanked him for the good judgment, moderation, and impartiality with which he had presided over them; they refer gladly to his efforts to interest the laity in Church matters, and recall his "uniform courtesy and kindness to all," and "the large-hearted and noble hospitality extended to clergy and laity."

The Bishop's utterances were very simple and very

genuine. To the working folk who were feasted on the occasion of St. Etheldreda's festival, he said :—

“I wish you could all have better houses, and each a little bit of land. Learn, too, to take care of horses, homes, land, yourselves. Do not go after ‘three days’ work and four days’ drink.’ Nothing can give you such a command of the market as a command of yourselves”; and to the wives he said, “Be wise; don’t drive the man to the public house.”

To his clergy he took a wider range. “The Church of England has had a great past and has before it a great future; this depends largely on the faithfulness of the clergy.” He lays down the principles on which they should work. These must be, faith in God, love to Jesus Christ, denial of self, a spirit of union within the Church, zeal for the education of our young ones; the isolation of the parochial clergy must be broken down; women’s work must be more encouraged. He tells them emphatically how he has tried to bring clergy and laity together. “I have tried to open the way; I entreat you, brethren, both of clergy and laity, with almost my last words to you as your Bishop I charge you, in God’s name, that you never let it be closed.” He takes comfort from the thought that his saintly predecessor, Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, who, when Bishop of Ely, was one of King James’ company of translators of the Holy Scriptures, even as he himself had been head of the Old Testament company of revisers, was also translated to Winchester. Touching is his sad phrase, “I am going from a land of peace to a land of turmoil and difficulty.” At a meeting in St. James’s Hall, at which he was present, he referred in earnest, almost despondent, language to his impressions of Portsmouth, whence he had just returned. He spoke of the consternation he had felt at sight of that great town, and declared

that "he would never have left quiet Ely had he realised the huge mass of work and difficulties which confronted him there."

The affection and gratitude of the diocese could not be hid. All hastened to take part, in one way or another, in the various gifts which testified to their regret. His portrait was painted by Watts, and presented to Mrs. Harold Browne; two rings, the one an episcopal sapphire, with St. Etheldreda and St. Swithun engraved on it, the other a green jasper (or bloodstone), with the arms of the See of Winchester impaled with those of the Bishop; a fine epergne, with much other plate, was also given to him; and lastly, above £1100 were subscribed for the establishment of "Harold Browne Prizes for Pupil Teachers."

The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Dr. Cookson, speaking of the loss the University and diocese had sustained by the removal of the Bishop, says:—

"Perhaps, when the history of the English Church in this period comes to be written, of all the prelates who have contributed to the infusion of new life and animation into its work, and who have done service by their writings, example, and episcopal labours, no worthier name will appear than that of Bishop Edward Harold Browne."

No truer utterance as to the effect of the Bishop's years of hard work in the diocese of Ely could have been made than that in which his close friend and helper Archdeacon Emery, comparing the state of the diocese in 1873 with its state a few years earlier, summed up the matter:—

"The energy and zeal displayed by the Bishop, and the result of these various organisations set on foot by him, had made the diocese of Ely, a positive picture of the progress of the Church of England during the last ten years."

It had been a time of peaceful advance, undisturbed by crying questions, free from scandals, full of devoted labours for the faith of Christ ; and when the Bishop at last bade a most reluctant farewell to his sorrowing flock, it would be hard to say which felt the parting most. He carried with him from Ely to Winchester the warm God-speed of all his friends, and the whole diocese was his friend.

BOOK IV.

1874—1891.

WINCHESTER.

CHAPTER I.

APPOINTMENT.

IT was with no little anxiety that the Bishop of Ely decided to move to Winchester. His heart was at Ely ; he was among his friends, and near his loved University ; he was not there compared with a prelate of the brilliancy and working power of Wilberforce. At first, he appears to have meant to refuse it ; but after a while, overborne, as he sometimes was, by the urgency of friends, he accepted the offer. His letter to Bishop McDougall, his most intimate friend and colleague, shews how great the perturbation of his spirit had been :—

“ ROSE CASTLE, *August 4th*, 1873.

“ MY DEAR BISHOP,—This is to me a sad letter. After what I said at Ely you will hardly believe that I have accepted Winchester. Yet so it is. It has altogether been so set before me that I could hardly refuse. Gladstone of his own motion suggested a Suffragan, and said that, though he refused it for Ely, he would gladly and cheerfully sanction it for Winchester. I found I was the only Bishop to whom he meant to offer Winton. It would, if I had refused, have been given at once to a presbyter. I can hardly tell you all that has weighed with me to accept this. I fully resolved to refuse it, unless some very objectionable arrangement was impending ; but the very strong advice given me and pressure put on me have made me yield, greatly against my inclination. I shall be a loser in almost every way. Personally, I shall be a gainer in nothing ; for

what some would think a gain, more of courtly society and parliamentary position, is to me an insufferable nuisance. I have prayed earnestly to be guided rightly, and, with innumerable reasons against it, I have thought the reasons why I should accept are the stronger.

"I cannot tell you how much I shall regret my friends at Ely and in the diocese, many of whom I love most affectionately. You and yours are among those I value most, and shall miss most. I wish I could take my four Archdeacons with me. There is no diocese so officered, I am convinced. It is, however, some satisfaction that I have been able to leave two of my Archdeacons' families fairly provided for."

Bishop McDougall appears to have replied, suggesting that, if possible he would like to follow his friend into the new field of work. For, in a letter in answer dated August 19th, Bishop Harold Browne says:—

"It would be most agreeable to me to carry you and Mrs. McDougall with us to my future diocese; and certainly the thought had crossed my mind. I never thought, however, that it would cross yours. And indeed the difficulties seem very great. I imagine you would excellently supply my deficiencies in some points; especially, you would make a good Sea King, whereas I abhor the sea. I may be Bishop of the See, you might be Bishop of the Seas. But the difficulties are considerable. It is doubtful whether I could ever find a berth for you so profitable as you have now. There might be some jealousies about my bringing a man into high position from my old diocese. It would be almost easier to bring a man from elsewhere. Then comes the question of health. The population of Winton is three times that of Ely, the confirmations ought to be double at least. My time would be so occupied that I must give more confirmations to my coadjutor than I could take myself, and I could not bear to see you killing yourself by confirming. Then you have those bronchitic attacks to which you are so subject, especially at the confirmation season. These and other thoughts have seemed to me to make a transference, which would be most pleasant to me, full of difficulties. But

believe me, whatever happens I shall always cherish the most affectionate regard for you and yours, and shall be
"Your ever attached brother,
"E. H. ELY."

The Bishop also tried to get for Bishop McDougall the Canonry at Winchester then vacant, which had fallen to the Crown, and wrote to him to that effect.

To this Bishop McDougall replied, setting out his doubts and fears about the move (September 12th, 1873). He would lose in income ; he thinks he would not be efficient ; he is no Londoner (as people might well have said when they saw him in full episcopal dress strolling down Regent Street with a short pipe in his mouth !) ; he is no good at dinners, public meetings, and the like ; he is bronchitic and unfit for night duty of any kind, though his health is better ; yet, after all, he would like it, if he could but see his way ; he would love nothing better than to continue to be the Bishop's helper ; and he would rub up his French again, and qualify for the Channel Islanders. He adds that in the new diocese the travelling expenses would be heavy, and he would have to put down horses and carriage. Directly on receipt of this, the Bishop set himself to smooth the way. It would be a warmer climate ; the confirmations, etc., might be so arranged that he himself, being usually stronger in cold weather, might take those in spring, and Bishop McDougall the summer ones ; he would relieve him of almost all London work. Then, as to money matters, the expenses of travelling should cost him nothing ; "though," he adds, "I fear I could provide no actual income, as I shall be nearly £800 a year poorer than at Ely. There is a mortgage on the house, and other outgoings, of which I did not know."

The serious loss of income mentioned above was only temporary, for within eighteen months Bishop Sumner

died. The way was also made easy by the consideration of the Prime Minister, who offered Bishop McDougall the vacant Canonry at Winchester ; and so the two friends, after all, were not severed.

It is in connection with this negotiation that we hear the Bishop's views as to the subdivision of work in his huge diocese. It is clear that he was very jealous of any attempt to minish aught from the dignity and importance of the See of Winchester. Certain influential Surrey men had been at him at once.

"They have lately impressed me, or tried to impress me, that a bishopric of South London cannot be, as it would take that poor and needy population away from the rich population of the country parts of Surrey. They maintain that a bishopric of Surrey might be formed, but at great expense, and prefer on the whole, at least for a time, the notion of two coadjutor Bishops, one to throw himself greatly into South London, the other for the Islands, and south of Hampshire."

During these days the Bishop received innumerable letters of regret from Ely, of hope and encouragement from Hampshire. One from Charles Kingsley, then Rector of Eversley, contains a phrase which shews that he appreciated the kind of Bishop who was coming.

"I welcome you," he writes, "with the hope that you will be able—willing you will be—to keep the balance even between extreme parties, and win the respect and affection of the good men (and there are many amongst us) of both."

There is also an affectionate note from Archbishop Tait, warning him earnestly against trying to carry on both dioceses together, lest he should break down in the attempt ; he ought to clear entirely out of Ely before settling down to rule over Winchester.

And his loving friends at Cambridge, though they were very sorry to lose him, could still pluck up heart to make an epigram or two, turning on his uneasy position between the two Sees.

"DEAR MRS. BROWNE,—On my return to Cambridge I put the matter into the hands of 'Our Poet,' and you see the result! Poor fellow! You will not be surprised to hear that he 'now doth crazy go.' It was the last effort of his waning reason.

"Yours very sincerely,
"J. B. LIGHTFOOT.

"TRINITY COLLEGE, *August 11th, 1873.*"

"ON A RECENT PERPLEXITY.

Τόπος διθάλασσος.

"Tossed to and fro, all vainly I endeavour
Forward to steer my bark, or to retreat.
No marvel this; for madly rages ever
The fierce, tempestuous surge, where two Sees meet."

"TO MY LORD BISHOP OF ECHESTER AND WINLEY, ON HIS PRESENT
EQUIVOCAL POSITION.

"Fy, fy, my Lord! can this be so?
Your footing, quick, recover;
For 'tis a shocking thing to see
A Bishop *half-sees-over*."

Bishop Harold Browne was confirmed in Bow Church on October 23rd, 1873, and enthroned at Winchester on December 11th, going through the long imposing ceremony, and paying the accustomed visit to St. Lawrence' Church to toll the bell. An opportunity soon came for him to declare the principles on which he hoped to rule over his diocese. After the consecration of the enlargement of Stoke Church by Guildford, he addressed those who had come to meet him, and assured them of his deep sympathy with all earnest work.

"I have always called myself an Evangelical, but I am equally ready to call myself a High Churchman; . . . most distinctly an Evangelical, and most distinctly a High Churchman. I believe very thoroughly in both." And, as he remarked long after, in 1889, "I can find no party-name by which to call myself."

He also defined his position as between the Roman Church on the one hand and Nonconformity on the other, speaking in a kind and gentle tone of both, and declaring his firm faith in the "principles of the Primitive Church and the Reformed Church of England"; and he ended by appealing to them to find out the ninety-nine points of agreement rather than the one of variance; and to accept him on these terms as "Bishop of the Church, not a Bishop of a party."

He aimed from the outset at a subdivision of work rather than at a reconstruction of his diocese, and discouraged, without definite opposition, the schemes put forth from time to time, whether for a bishopric of South London or for the separation of the Channel Islands from the See. And, meanwhile, he took such steps as seemed to him wise for the better distribution of the duties. For the northern portion of the diocese he obtained the ready and efficient help of Archdeacon Utterton, who was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Guildford on March 15th, 1874. At the same time he placed Bishop McDougall as an assistant Bishop in the southern part of the diocese, specially to look after the Isle of Wight and the Channel Islands.

The great growth of episcopal work, the higher sense of duty, and the feeling that a Bishop ought to make himself felt throughout his diocese, and to be ready to take part in every kind of Church work, have taxed the strength of the episcopate of modern times. As the vigour of the Church increases, it is seen that nothing is so valuable

as an active Bishop. There is a vast future before the episcopate, if it will read the sign of the times, and truly guide and befriend the people,—the main duty of the Church. If the Church can win the confidence of the wage-earners of England, direct their advance, and inspire them with new and higher aims, establishment or disestablishment will become a minor affair, a matter of convenience or inconvenience, devoid of any essential character.

A little incident in the summer of 1874 illustrates clearly Bishop Harold Browne's profound belief in the authority and dignity of the episcopal office. In the Public Worship Bill of that year there was a clause allowing an appeal to the Archbishop, in case a Bishop decided to place his veto on proceedings under the Act. The Bishop of Winchester saw in it an infringement of the episcopal authority; and led the opposition to the clause in a spirited speech, which carried the House of Lords with him. The clause was thrown out. A letter from him to Bishop Magee of Peterborough shews how he regarded it, with exaggeration no doubt, yet in the main correctly. It would have been fatal to the authority and influence of a Bishop if, after he had forbidden proceedings against one of his clergy, the Archbishop of his province could interfere and compel him to allow an action to proceed.

"I hope you will do all you can against the clause. . . . The whole Bill does much to diminish the condition of Bishops. This clause strikes at the root of Episcopacy. It brings the Archbishop into the Bishop's diocese. The Archbishop of Canterbury cares for nothing but to pass the Bill, *quocumque modo*—'Si possis, recte; si non, quocumque modo, rem.' The effect of this clause is in the direction of absorbing the episcopate (a divine institution) in the archiepiscopate (which is a human institution). I am sure that disestablishment will follow, and I think on good ground that Gladstone is quite ready to go in for it in the event of this clause becoming law."

And later on (August 10th, 1874) he writes again to Bishop Magee :—

“I confess that this triple alliance between the Archbishop, the Prime Minister, and Vernon Harcourt seems to me the most ominous conjuncture against the Church. . . . I for one would much sooner pass the Red Sea of disestablishment, and wander for forty years in the wilderness with the Cloud of Glory guiding us.”

This the Bishop writes from Guernsey after a bad passage ; his equilibrium must have been not a little upset before he could have attributed such fearful consequences to a comparatively unimportant clause in the Bill. “We had a rough voyage,” he adds, “and have to leave for Jersey at the end of the week. The islands are very beautiful, but stormy as ‘vex’t Bermoothes.’” The Bishop always shrank from the sea, and disliked even to stay at seaside places, within sight and hearing of the waves.

During this visit to the Islands Bishop Sumner died, and the important question as to the future home of the Bishop of Winchester came up. On the one side was the splendour of a palatial house, one of the finest in South England, and the ancient historic connection between Farnham and the See of Winchester. On the other side was the enormous and altogether disproportionate cost of living in so large a place. Bishop Harold Browne once told me that it cost him all his official income to keep up the Castle ; so that for the heavy outgoings of the diocese he had to depend on his private resources, and was consequently always tempted to impoverish himself. Added to this was the evil of lifting up the Bishop almost to the position of a temporal prince, which could only confirm the widespread notion that the State Church was an upper-class affair, hung as an ornamental appendage on the

show side of society. This view of it seems never to have affected the Bishop. With all his personal simplicity and humility, he still believed that a Bishop's magnificence was important, and that if his official dignity were lowered the stability of the Established Church would somehow be endangered. He also felt that the greater income of his See was given him specially to keep up this grandeur, which from time to time brought him into contact with the highest in the realm. He went at once, on Bishop Sumner's death, to see the Castle.

"I have just been to Farnham," he writes on September 19th, 1874. "The house is much worse than Ely in everything but the hall. It would be no more trouble or expense than Ely, except for its long passages, staircases, and boundless roof. The garden is rather troublesome, though very pretty, and the park beautiful. It ought to keep itself."

The sanguine tone of this note shews that from the outset the Bishop looked on Farnham with favour. The house, as a fact, was far more costly than the Ely palace; and as for the park keeping itself, this was a mere delusion. Anyhow, he decided at once in favour of living at Farnham, especially as he thought his way was clear, both to a larger income, and also to the sale of Winchester House in London, which would relieve him of some outlay. The Archbishop of Canterbury wrote at once to express his pleasure at the decision :—

"I am glad to hear that you have decided to keep Farnham. I am sure it is an evil to break the old ties of association, which are a help to all of us in our work."

The Bishop had consulted him about Winchester House, and his reply was :—

"No objection can be raised against your plan of aiding the foundation of a new diocese by the sale of Winchester

House. To get rid of so large a town-house would probably be a benefit to your successors, and I should rejoice to see the diocese made more manageable without any diminution of the ancient prescriptive importance of the See."

The Bishop's mind turned sometimes towards his Winchester Palace of Wolvesey, a far more central position for residence. In 1877 Dr. Ridding, thinking that the place would be valuable for school purposes, wished to get possession of Bishop Morley's house and the ruins and grounds around it. The Bishop consulted Bishop McDougall:—

"... It is a reason why I should soon learn what is necessary to be done to it. If £1,000 of solid repair and £500 of paint and paper would make it right and habitable, I should be inclined to venture it. I hardly like to sell it. A future Bishop might live there. Whether a *disestablished* Bishop could afford to do so I doubt; and folks now seem to count the years of the Establishment."

What the Bishop thought of Farnham can be seen from a letter written to a kinsman in the autumn of 1875, just after he had come into possession of it:—

"HIGHFIELD, NEAR SOUTHAMPTON, *October 9th*, 1875.

"MY DEAR PHILIP,—Very many thanks for your kind letter and greetings to me in my new home. We are in it; but masons, carpenters, painters, and paperers hold by far the greater part of it against us, and will do so for months. It is a beautiful old house, with beautiful garden and park; but the house is very unequal, patched in many ways. I hope I shall have improved it. Among other things, I have opened four fine Early English windows, which had been blocked up by a dead wall. Unfortunately they are in the kitchen. The oldest part of all is the servants' hall. That and the keep, which is a grand fortress, are of the age of Stephen, built by Bishop Henry de Blois, brother to the king. Perhaps the oldest thing of all is a Norman *oak* pillar, which is in a small cupboard or closet, hard to see;

but I am told that an oak pillar with a Norman capital is very rare indeed. I trust the place is very healthy as well as pretty; but I am little there. Like my sister-in-law, Harriet, I only go home now and then for change of air. Of late, since my return from the North, my work has been even harder than ever."

As he grew older the Bishop felt the burden of Farnham pressing very heavily on his shoulders; and when the present Dean wrote to him, suggesting (under the circumstances of the shrunken income of the Capitular body) that the Deanery should be handed over to the Bishop for his episcopal residence, and the Dean find himself a smaller and more manageable house, his reply shewed that, though unwilling to face further changes, he saw what would be best for the See.

"FARNHAM CASTLE, *January 1st, 1884.*

"Your scheme about changing houses is a bold one. I dare not answer your question yet. I should not like to see you removed from your palatial house. I hardly know how to make a change in my old age, unless it were to retirement; but I quite think that a future Bishop would be richer and more efficient at Winchester; perhaps future Deans might like a smaller house than the Deanery."

No sooner had the Bishop settled these preliminary matters, than he found himself called on to undertake the task of helping towards an interesting expansion of the Episcopate. The increase of England's responsibilities in India by the annexation of two huge territories to the imperial crown led Churchmen to think they must bestir themselves. A plan was floated for two new bishoprics, one, for the North West provinces, at Lahore, and the other, for the Burmese country, at Rangoon. Of these it was proposed that the Winchester diocese should raise the funds for Rangoon; and the Bishop at once fell in

with the plan. The moving spirit, to whom the success of the proposal was mainly due, was Sir Walter Farquhar. There were many different suggestions. Some wanted "Chota-Bishops," or little Bishops, natives of the districts, to head native Churches, and to make it clear that Christianity was not merely another form of English influence. This scheme, highly to their honour, was warmly supported by the Committee of the S.P.G., and had much to be said in its favour. But the counsels of old Indians and others, anxious for a larger scheme, prevailed. It was decided to raise funds for the endowment of two new bishoprics, to be held by Englishmen. The Winchester diocese, moved by the urgent appeals and advice of Mr. Jacob, son of the good old Archdeacon of Winchester, a man of great Indian experience and unusual vigour and power, undertook to raise £10,000 in two years, a sum which, with help from other sources, would provide a sufficient fund for the endowment of a bishopric for Burmah. The diocese of Oxford offered to do the same for the other See at Lahore.

The Bishop began by issuing a memorandum on the subject, in which he appealed to the consciences of Englishmen, responsible for the welfare of India. We had shaken the faith of the inhabitants of that great peninsula in their older religions, and were bound to shew them a better way. Even on political grounds it would be wise, if we could, to make them Christians ; still more are we bound, on religious grounds, to do what we can to give the Gospel of Christ to a dependency numbering quite one-fourth of the human race. Christian missions are not failures: "If it took many centuries to convert Europe, we must not expect to convert India in a single century." He says that the true step forward would be that of erecting missionary bishoprics, which would not be too costly.

India needs men of high intelligence to evangelise her ; good missionary Bishops have ever gathered good men round them, as did Selwyn, Mackenzie, Pattison, and others. This appeal was followed by public meetings, at which the Bishop did his utmost for the scheme, sketching also a picture of a development of native Bishops, under the English ones, with perhaps as many as ten or twelve of them at work in India alone.

In a year the diocese had raised £7,000 ; the great Societies promised £7,500, and ere long the diocesan contribution reached the £10,000 desired. The plan of native Bishops was put aside ; a proposal for two Bishops, an Englishman for the English, a native of India for the Indians, was also suggested, but was rejected as likely to emphasise the odious distinction between conqueror and conquered. The Church Missionary Society in Tinnevely shewed a wise desire to train the Churches into supporting themselves ; they urged that instead of providing endowments from England for the whole cost of a bishopric, native efforts should be encouraged, and life and self-devotion elicited among the converts. They suggested that £10,000 should be handed over to each of the Societies, to be invested as permanent funds, the interest of which should provide stipends for the two missionary Bishops. The other Society was also shy of helping, and seemed, in an unfriendly sort of way, to think it impossible for one Bishop to care for both the English and the native inhabitants of Burmah. On the other hand, Lord Salisbury, who was then at the India Office, was very friendly and helpful, and undertook to attach the stipend of a Government Chaplaincy to the Bishop's salary. Mr. Jacob also appealed to Archbishop Tait, who listened to his earnest and hopeful statements as well as to Mr. Bullock's frigid criticisms, and was not afraid to range himself on

the side of venture and advance. To Mr. Jacob's sensible and weighty arguments the ultimate success of the effort was largely due. In the end, the original plan was carried out, and the two English dioceses had the privilege of creating, out at the far distant edges of the old diocese of Calcutta, the two permanent and independent bishoprics of Rangoon and Lahore.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANGLO-CONTINENTAL SOCIETY, AND THE RE-UNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

THROUGHOUT all this period Bishop Harold Browne took the greatest interest in the character, constitution, and development of Episcopal Churches. They were to him the true allies of the English Church ; he was always eager to join hands with the Episcopalians in America or in Scotland, in the Eastern Churches or in Scandinavia, and especially with the old Catholics of Switzerland and Germany. He also, in his pastoral of 1875, on "The position and parties of the English Church," while looking askance on any general alliance or federation of Christian bodies, warmly urged a closer union among the reformed Episcopal bodies.

It was therefore natural that he should take a leading part in the affairs of the Anglo-Continental Society, of which we have already mentioned the origin. He was, in fact, "the life and soul of the Society." He had clearly stated his point of view in "Visions of Peace," a letter addressed in 1870 to his old and zealous friend, Mr. Higgins. We must aim at a Church and a faith orthodox alike and comprehensive, "broad without laxity, indifference, unbelief, or scepticism ; evangelical without sectarianism or intolerance ; hierarchical without priestcraft or superstition " ; in a word, Anglican and Episcopal. He appeals

to Nonconformists to lay down their arms and come in ; he tells the Romanists, in reply to their claims, that they are but a sect, and that not a very orthodox one ; he invites the Eastern Churches to accept a hearty union. In 1870 he held a conference with Archbishop Lycurgus of Syra, who visited him at Ely, on the subject of the " Filioque " Controversy, and shewed the keenest interest in all questions relating to both the Easterns and the old Catholics. Whether in Convocation or at Lambeth Conferences, or in the Old Catholic assemblies at Cologne or Bonn, the Bishop was unwearied in trying to smooth away difficulties, to remove barriers, to display the English Church as a model, to hold out a friendly hand. These overtures were well received, though little came of them.

His hopes as to the Old Catholic movement are summed up in a letter written just after his visit to Cologne :—

" The meeting was deeply interesting. The speakers were thoughtful, earnest, eloquent, calm, but determined ; . . . all were apparently deeply interested, applauding the speakers enthusiastically. The movement evidently excites deep interest. God only knows what the future will be, and to what it will lead. It is the greatest effort at reform made within the Roman Church since the disruption of the sixteenth century, and it may well have our prayers and sympathy."

Head and shoulders above all the others who took part in this movement was Dr. von Döllinger, the most learned of German theologians, at that time Professor in the University of Munich. An eye-witness of the turmoil created by the Ultramontane dogmas of the Vatican Council says, in 1872, that " Dollinger is doing his utmost to restrain those who would make it a mere party and semi-political movement, and he will accept no party-position which he is not forced by his opponents to assume."

With Dr. von Döllinger our Bishop was very friendly, for he recognised in the great Church historian a kindred spirit. During this period he took his holidays in Germany or Switzerland, because he hoped there to help on the movement. In 1872 he had been to Grindelwald, to Bern, and eventually to the Conference of Old Catholics at Cologne: the Old Catholics seemed likely to enter into relationship with both the Anglo-Continental Society and another Reform Society which represented the movement in favour of independent unity in England and among the Greek Churches.

They also, it is interesting to note, suggested that "it may be important," as Dr. Lewis Hogg writes, "to include in such a committee (of united Churches) some eminent Irish Churchmen, *e.g.*, Professor Salmon and others, and also some Scotch Churchmen, to show to German Old Catholics and others that Anglican ideas of unity are quite unaffected by 'establishment' or 'disestablishment.'"

At this same time the Bishop had lately received a visit from Père Hyacinthe, who was very anxious for the appointment of an organising clergyman of the English Church to help his struggling young community in Paris.

The Bishop spent his first holiday, after coming to Winchester, paying a visit to the Bonn Conference, in which he was most deeply interested. After one session of it he writes from Cologne (September 14th, 1874):—

"I have just returned from Bonn, where we have had a very successful day. Döllinger was very wise and conciliatory. The English and Americans were good enough to say that my help was of great importance, and that I had succeeded in getting through difficulties which would have been insuperable without me; so that I feel thankful to have been there."

A letter from our Bishop to the Bishop of Melbourne

well expresses his feelings as to the Conference after his return :—

"October 9th, 1874.

"Döllinger and the great body of Old Catholics have no greater difference of theological opinions from an old-fashioned and moderate English Churchman than such an English Churchman would discover between himself and the adherents of the three extreme parties at present existing in England. I call myself an old-fashioned English Churchman, and I find more to repel me in any one of the extreme schools in England than I do in anything I have seen or heard in the Old Catholics. Now, I do not wish to expel from my own communion any of the adherents of the three schools within it. The Church ought to hold them all, or it will become a sect. *A fortiori*, I would gladly welcome to Christian brotherhood men so much to be loved and honoured as Döllinger, and those who have escaped from errors for which, I fear, some within our own body have too much sympathy."

During this visit to Germany the Bishop heard of the alarming illness of his brother, Captain Barrington Browne, at Winchester House, in town. This hastened his return, much to his regret, before the Congress was over; he hurried home, full of affectionate anxiety, and had the comfort of ministering to his brother in his last hours.

Though he was unable to be at Bonn the next year, he was heartily with the German Conservative reformers in spirit. As he could not be present, he addressed a long letter to Dr. Döllinger on the subjects to be discussed in 1875. In 1874 the Old Catholics had declared—

"That the way in which the 'Filioque' was inserted into the Nicene Creed was illegal; and that, with a view to unity, it was much to be desired that the whole Church should consider seriously whether the Creed could not be safely restored to its primitive form, without the sacrifice of any true doctrine conveyed under the present Western form of words."

Their desire was to find a possible middle formula, between the incomplete Greek, "proceeding from the Father," and the doubtful Latin, "proceeding from the Father and the Son." The Latin form demands some limitation, lest it should tend towards "bitheism" or even "tritheism"; on the other hand, Scripture is quite clear that the Divine Son did send the Holy Spirit; and, in fact, the "Double Procession" is scriptural.

In his letter Bishop Harold Browne treats the subject with his accustomed clearness. Writing from Winchester House on August 3rd, 1875, he says:—

"I believe that the Old Catholics and the Anglican Church fully concede to the Eastern orthodox Church that the 'Filioque' ought not to have been added without the consent of a General Council. We admit, also, that the doctrine as expressed in the creed of Constantinople, in the words *Ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον*, 'a Patre procedens,' is in itself orthodox and true. Moreover, we maintain the doctrine of the *Μοναρχία*; holding as firmly as the Greeks that there is but one *Αἰτία*, *Ἀρχή*, or *Πηγὴ*, one 'Fons Deitatis,' viz., the Eternal Father. We Anglicans are willing to make any declaration to this effect which may be satisfactory to the Easterns; yet we say that there is a true sense in which the Greeks as well as the Latins spoke of the Spirit as *ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ* (*Εἰρήλ. Ἡερ.* 72. 4), or *παρ' ἀμφοτέρων* (*Ἡερ.* 74. 8), or *ἐξ ἀμφοῦν* (*Cyril de Ador., Lib. i., opp. 1. 9*). We therefore do not see how it can be wrong so to speak, though we admit that the 'Filioque' was an unjustifiable addition to a Catholic symbol without Catholic consent.

"The difference between us is one of words, not of truth; for we believe the Son and the Spirit to have derived Being from all eternity from the One God the Father, and to be One God with Him; but we say the Father is first, the Son second, and the Holy Spirit third, and so that the Spirit is from the Father, but also of the Son. The subject is abstruse and mysterious. Both the Greeks and the Latins held important truth concerning it, apparently diverse but really reconcilable."

The Bishop then considers the subject of Anglican orders, and the question as to the sacramental character of ordination, well explaining the position, and ending thus :—

“ We do not think that either the Old Catholics or the Greeks will consider our orders to be invalid because we have been excommunicated by the Roman Patriarch, and so are not in union with the centre of faith and fountain of order. We deny that our branch of Christ's Church was originally a part of the Roman Patriarchate, maintaining that it was originally autocephalous, and if not a Patriarchate under the Patriarch of Canterbury, of which there is some evidence, yet at least an Exarchate, and that we had a right to return to our independence and to throw off the usurped supremacy of Rome. But, moreover, when Parker was consecrated the Pope had not yet excommunicated us. It is true the Pope did not give his consent to Parker's consecration, nor send him the pallium ; but we deny that this was necessary to make that consecration valid.”

He lastly touches on the Invocation of Saints, giving the reasons why the English Church does not hold the doctrine or encourage the practice. There is no authority for it in Scripture, or in the earliest ages, or in the pages of the early Fathers. When it first crept in by corruption it was strongly condemned by St. Augustine and others. There is no authority for it in the first six General Councils : the seventh (a council of less weight) gives it some sanction ; but it was not generally acknowledged, and its decrees on this point are repudiated by the great Council of Frankfort under Charles the Great. “ We think then that, if we err in this, we err with Holy Scripture, with the earliest Greek and Latin Fathers, and with the primitive Councils of the Church. *Errare possumus, hæretici esse nolumus.*”

As a result of these discussions, the Old Catholics accepted the dogmatic statements of St. John Damascene

on the "Procession," and offered them as a safe ground of union to both the Greek and English Churches. At the close of the debate Dr. von Döllinger said that the Conference had attained to a union far beyond his utmost hopes, and that on the "Procession" they were all really at one. The Greeks present, headed by Archbishop Lycurgus, were satisfied, and convinced that the Greek Synods would receive the result gladly, and that thus "the rent robe of Christ be made one again in the One Catholic Church." Archbishop Lycurgus seemed to be the means appointed by Providence for this reunion, thanks to his breadth of vision, his Western education, his Eastern dignity, his force of character. But all in vain. Soon after this he died, and things in the East dropped back into their wonted apathy. Nor did much result from it in England. Though Committees of the Southern Convocation sat on the clause, the fear of disturbing the Creed was in itself enough to arrest all action; the formula commended by our Bishop was never adopted by Convocation; the whole question as to intercommunion with the Greek and Russian Churches remained where it was. The next spring, under the Bishop's eye, the Anglo-Continental Society drew up and sent to Dr. Döllinger an address of sympathy with the Old Catholics, and of thankfulness for the results of the Conference of 1875: it was signed by twenty-seven Anglican Bishops, and by many clergy and laity of note. In the same month in which this address was presented, September 1876, Bishop Reinkens, the Old Catholic Bishop of Germany, consecrated Dr. Edouard Herzog first Bishop of the "Swiss Christian Catholic Church," and the Bishop of Winchester was glad, and sent friendly greetings. Two years later these two Bishops paid Farnham Castle a visit, and an informal Conference was held, at which several American Bishops, several English, the Scottish Primus,

and M. Loyson, the celebrated Father Hyacinthe, were present, and expressed their warm goodwill towards the movement in Germany and Switzerland, "rather by way of brotherly sympathy than of ecclesiastical interference." The Conference agreed to support two theological students at Bern, and to raise a special fund to help Father Hyacinthe in his efforts for a reformed Catholic Church in France. Discussion also took place on the movement in America and Mexico, and the Conference broke up with a feeling of hope and solid advance. "Even yet," said the Bishop, "the Church of England, putting one hand on Roman Catholics and the other on Protestants, might say, 'Sirs, ye are brethren: cannot you in some way unite together?'" His affectionate appeals as yet have met with but scant response.

On the occasion of another visit of the two Old Catholic Bishops, the Bishop of Winchester met them at Cambridge, and carried them back with him to Farnham. Dr. Döllinger, then eighty-two, was too infirm to come. At Cambridge the Bishop spoke at some length on the "slow and cautious reformation" going on in Germany and Switzerland, and also preached on "The faith once delivered to the saints," on the organisation of the Christian Church, and the Roman claims. At Cambridge and Farnham the Old Catholic Bishops received the Holy Communion in the English form, and shewed their practical belief in the unity of the Churches.

Dr. von Döllinger's death was a very serious blow to all friends of Anglo-Continental reunion. He had guided the Old Catholics with so much sagacity and prudence that the present Bishop of Salisbury could say that "they have not made a single false step." The worst of it is that such wisdom and guidance are not the only qualities needed for an aggressive movement. The Old Catholic reform is

slow-moving, cautious, conservative ; it neither dies out, nor does it win the enthusiastic support necessary to secure a vigorous advance. Let us hope, with Father Hyacinthe, that—

“ This reformation, as far removed from religious anarchy, too often the outcome of Protestantism, as from ecclesiastical despotism, the mark of Rome, a movement more modest, yet more sure, than that of the sixteenth century, is preparing for the twentieth century a platform on which shall yet be seen the reconciliation of liberty with authority, of tradition with progress, of reason with faith.”

Again in 1888 the Anglo-Continental Society was received at Farnham ; the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Western New York, the Bishops of Guiana and Pretoria, Bishop Herzog, Mar Gregorius the Syrian, Count Enrico di Campello, the Italian reformer, Señor Cabrera from Spain, a pastor from the Church of Utrecht, and another from Austria, with many English clergy and laity, were present. Just before this meeting, the Bishop had spoken despondingly about English Church feeling on the subject of the reunion of self-reforming Churches.

“ Nothing,” he writes, “ of late has made me so sad and so little hopeful as to the spirit and progress of English Churchmen in the latter part of this eventful century as the narrow tone and temper displayed for some weeks past. When you and I [he is writing to Prebendary Meyrick], Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop Whittingham, Canon Liddon, etc., went to the Old Catholic Congress at Cologne and Bonn, the majority of High Churchmen writers hailed these gatherings as full of hope for the re-union of Christendom and of Catholic reform in Continental Churches. Now all similar, or rather identical, moves are clamoured against as schismatical interference with such Churches, and that by men who ought to know better. It is not a little trying that the name of Bishop Wordsworth should be brought up against us ; whereas

he and I were on these questions always at one, only that, if anything, he always took the more advanced position, more fierce against Ultramontanism, urging on the Old Catholics more strongly to break with the Church of Rome."

It is curious to notice how his centrally balanced mind was affected by this strong lurch of the High Church sentiment and practice towards Rome.

"I very much share your feeling," he writes in 1891, "about the general action of High Churchmen. A reaction to Evangelicalism is not unlikely, and if it tends to redress the balance, without leading to sectarianism, I shall not regret it, *i.e.*, if I live to see it."

At this time the Bishop had been very active in the Lambeth Conference on behalf of reunion.

"I advocated warmly," he says, "the reception of the Swedish Church to communion with us, though it wants entirely one of the three orders of the ministry, and has the other two very imperfectly ; and I virtually carried my point, hoping that the Swedish Church would rise to greater Catholicity, as I should hope the Italians and Spaniards will become more Protestant."

He also moved for and obtained a committee of this Conference to study and report on the complicated and interesting subject of Moravian orders, with a view to definite and visible intercommunion with them. With his jealous regard for the apostolical character of the succession, the Bishop would naturally hold back from committing himself. All his sympathies and wishes would be strong for such intercommunion, but his habitual caution was such, and the difficulty of proving historically the Moravian succession so great, that he could only stand aloof, the better instincts neutralised by the theological theories. His ideal was that of "an intercommunion of national

Churches, all independent and self-governed, all free to retain their distinctive forms and usages" under certain marked conditions—those of accepting Holy Scripture, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, the doctrines of the two Sacraments, and the historic Episcopate. His action was limited, as we see too in Cardinal Newman's case, by trammels imposed on himself; while, on the other hand, it was modified by the impulses of a loving and liberal nature. Rome lays down, as a preliminary for acceptance, her own infallibility and authority, and there is an end of it with her. The Eastern Churches hold stiffly to their formularies, and if (as in the case of the "Double Procession") we do not accept every item, again there is an end of it. There is no "give and take" with these venerable Churches. The Anglicans assert their scriptural convictions, as to the Creeds and the Apostolical Succession, and hold out a friendly hand to all Episcopalian bodies. As yet, outside the limits of the English-speaking world, little result has followed. The Anglican position is not an easy one. The old historic Churches look on coldly: "If you will surrender, we shall be delighted to invite you," is their posture; the lesser Episcopal Churches would be glad of friendship and brotherly recognition; but the Anglican mind sees difficulties; their orders are of doubtful origin, or (as with the Christians of St. Thomas in India) their views are suspected of heresy, or there is some other block; consequently, little advance is made with them. The whole theory of the non-episcopal bodies is different from ours; they feel that we look down on them, socially and religiously; they cling all the closer to their Bibles and their independence. And so the rifts are not closed up; and the Reunion of Christendom being apparently as far off as ever, one can see signs of a longing in some minds for surrender to the high pretensions of the Roman Church,

and in others a desire to have done with the whole matter, and to turn all the energies of modern Christian faith and life into purely social channels. Yet, as the Archbishop of York said, when presiding over the meeting of the Anglo-Continental Society in 1893 "in the place of the most learned and popular and most beloved of men, Bishop Harold Browne" :—

"We must not look for striking results or triumphant statistics. We must influence religious life abroad, and try to bring Churches nearer to each other, and to get them on one platform of evangelic zeal and truth and of a common apostolic order."

All earnest men, who combine charity with faith and hope, dream of some golden future, in which whole bodies of men will distinguish between things important and things trivial, and will realise, far more than now we do, the vast importance of the points on which we agree. At present there is but little daylight showing above the dark horizon of the Churches.

Who shall venture to say that Christians will ever here be able to attain to unity? Not through the Imperialist claims of Rome, who deems herself the inheritor of the Cæsars; not through the rigid orthodoxy of the Greek Churches, an imperialism of another type; nor through a federation of aristocratic Churches to which the Christian democracy will not bow; nor through the indistinct claims of a spiritual and inner unity, which deems the personal illumination, the personal faith in Christ, the only bond of union; for the organised Churches refuse to be content with so subjective and unprovable a test. It is the insoluble problem of Christianity. The Master foresaw this when He warned His disciples that He was to bring "not peace but a sword"; He also laid down the simplest possible basis of union when He proclaimed that "wherever

two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them." This is the unit from which the whole Church life of Christianity must advance. There must be a new spiritual outpouring, such as has never been, ere we can hope for the blessing of a Reunion of Christendom.

If ever a federation of Churches across the world does take place, it will largely be due to the seed so prayerfully sown by Bishop Harold Browne. Such a result seems very far away; and yet, in spite of many disruptive influences, there is the same Christ, and the same love for the souls of men, and the same desire to see in truth the Kingdom of God established among men. And when it comes to this, then will the end be nigh.

CHAPTER III.

THEOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES AT WINCHESTER.

BISHOP HAROLD BROWNE had come to Winchester with anxiety and forebodings. Writing from Andover in May 1874 he says :—

“I think I have worked this year almost as hard as Bishop Wilberforce would have done ; only I am not good at society at the same time. Certainly I have given notice of twice as many Confirmations as he did in his first year in this diocese ; and I have worked often when I ought to have been in bed ; and yet I hear that clergymen grumble at my not doing all they want. They make no allowance for the difficulties of a man unknown to and unknowing a diocese. But I suppose I ought not to care for their unreasonableness.”

Churchmen seemed to him far harder to control and lead here than at Ely. The problems of town-life were far more urgent ; and with less learning there was more difference of character. “There is more diversity of opinion and variance here than at Ely,” he cries, soon after he entered on his new duties ; the evident presence of irritable elements in the diocese filled him with alarm. He never shrank from speaking out and letting people know what he thought ; but his charitable spirit, which, as he said, “loved a moderate harmless diet,” was vexed within him when men pushed on too fast, and overstepped the bounds of good taste and moderation.

"Some think," he said at the 1880 Congress, "that a parish in Evangelical hands should continue so, in High Church hands also; but I think it might often be desirable to have a change, though not an abrupt one. If there had been an extreme man, I would try to let the parish down gently; not appointing another extreme man, on the other side; because my taste is rather in favour of milk, or milk and water, which is better as a rule than brandy. Brandy may be a medicine; milk is a food."

On the other hand, the unsettled state of opinion in different parts of his diocese caused him great uneasiness. While in South London there were men crowding all sail in the direction of Ritual advance, and shewing not obscurely that the elaborate ornaments and new manner of conducting services were intended to express extreme views as to the Church and Sacraments; at the other end of the diocese, in the far-off Channel Islands, there was an opposite tendency. There the old Presbyterian feeling was still strong. The Islanders felt that they were very close to the borders of Rome, and, like the Irish Protestants, leant heavily in the opposite direction. Throughout the diocese there seemed to be a feeling of unrest, and perhaps of unreason, which troubled him exceedingly.

At the outset he had an example of the difficulty of guiding this diocese in the differences which sprang up over the memorial to his predecessor, Bishop Wilberforce. The large sum of money collected was broken up, and three or four different memorials undertaken; the result being much dissatisfaction. The Bishop himself was not altogether content with the chief memorial, the Mission House to be established in South London, though he loyally supported it. He had desired the erection of a separate See for that district. In June 1874 he remarked that—

"He did not say that the proposed memorial was the

best that could possibly have been devised—there were others he would quite as soon have seen; but it was a kind of work which all agreed the late Bishop had much at heart.”

The contributions to it at that time had not quite reached £11,000; and this was but a small sum with which to establish and endow an important institution. The Mission House was nevertheless created, and one of Bishop Wilberforce's sons (now Bishop of Newcastle) took charge of it. When, somewhat later, South London, as one of the changes due to the establishment of the See of St. Albans, was transferred to the Bishop of Rochester, this Memorial Mission passed away from the Diocese, and occupied the Bishop's thoughts no longer.

As at Ely, the Bishop divided his attention, in hope of steadying opinion, between doctrine and organisation. For the former, beside advice and information given without stint to those who applied to him, he issued a very weighty Pastoral in 1875; for the latter he meditated a structural change of importance, in the direction of more direct synodical action in the diocese.

To Dr. Millard, then Rector of Basingstoke, he wrote interesting letters on the baptism of adults, a matter which touched the episcopal authority. A notice has to be given “by the parents or some other discreet persons” to the Bishop before a parish priest can baptise an adult; this gave him an opportunity of stating his views to a sympathetic friend. For Dr. Millard was one of the most straightforward and right-minded of High Churchmen, loyal to his Bishop, and little inclined to new fashions.

A little later, he writes to Dr. Millard on another question of Church order. A Quaker gentleman had been duly baptised, and was anxious to be admitted to Holy Communion without being confirmed. The Friends, Dr.

Millard says, "tolerate Baptism and Holy Communion, but eject from their body, and from all social advantages of belonging to it, any one who is confirmed." He therefore appealed to the Bishop for permission to shut his eye to the rubric which regards Confirmation as a necessary step before Communion; and the Bishop, while he states that he has no power to absolve him from obedience to the rubric, says:—

"If I had the power I should not hesitate to do so [absolve him]. But I think you will be right to admit him to Holy Communion, taking the widest and most liberal interpretation of the words of the Church, which were evidently not intended to apply in cases of this kind. *Summum jus, summa injuria*. We are in a peculiar condition of things, owing to the wide spread of Nonconformity and the readiness of some Nonconformists to return to the Church's communion, if the door is not made too strait for them."

On the other side, it will be seen from the following letter how the Bishop dealt with those who were minded to listen too readily to the Roman claims to the obedience of mankind, on the ground of the primacy of St. Peter. The name of his correspondent is lost; the letter is characteristic of his way of handling such questions.

"You must not suppose," he writes, "that I admit your premises or inferences. To my reason it appears clear as the day that the kind of honour bestowed by our blessed Lord on St. Peter was as unlike supremacy as can possibly be. It is quite true that He singled him out for special service, that He entrusted to him more specially than to the others the keys of the kingdom, and the founding of the Church, and the feeding of His flock, as a shepherd feeds a flock. And without doubt St. Peter was the first, after the Ascension, to bring in converts to the faith, so opening the Kingdom of Heaven and founding [the] Church. In this, and this is the true, sense, the power could not be

handed down to his successors. No one after him could be the first unlocker of the Kingdom, the first founder of the Church. It was this great privilege which our Lord gave to Peter, viz., to be the first to bring in both Jews and Gentiles to the flock of Christ, first at Pentecost, next at the conversion of Cornelius; and this could not descend.

"I do not say that Peter was not the Rock. I feel with St. Augustine that much may be said on both sides; but I deny that those Fathers to whom I referred all spoke ambiguously. The earliest, Justin Martyr, is quite clear. St. Augustine declares that he used to think it meant St. Peter, but that he had cause to believe it meant Peter's Confession, but that he left the question open. As for his ignorance of Syriac, I am afraid that has descended to Roman controversialists, for the distinction of the masculine and feminine *Πετρός* and *πετρά* is preserved in the most authoritative Syriac document which has come down to us, which some think to be the so-called Hebrew original of St. Matthew, but which must be the best existing representative of it, viz., the Peschito Syriac, where though the *Kephah* cannot, as in Greek, change its termination, the second *Kephah* has the feminine article, which is as significant as the Greek change of termination.

"Be this as it may, the Fathers were much divided in their interpretation. Strange, if the question be so vital.

"The truth is clear, as the Greek liturgies express it so often, viz., that St. Peter was the *κορυφαῖος*, so ignorantly or dishonestly (I leave you the choice) translated SUPREME, and put in capital letters. 'Coryphæus' means leader of a chorus or quire, and speaking for the rest. This St. Peter doubtless was, *primus inter pares*."

The Bishop's general attitude can be seen from a weighty Pastoral Letter entitled "The Position and Parties of the English Church," which he published in 1875. In this document, after stating how he had been disappointed of his hope that South London might become an independent bishopric, with St. Mary Overy (St. Saviour's) for the Cathedral, he turned to the religious difficulties of the day. "On the threshold of a future history full of change in Church and State, in politics and religion . . . a wave of

new thought and excited action is passing over the world." And he appeals to his clergy to show wisdom, self-control, disinterestedness, as befits the pilots and directors of religious thought in a troubled sea of change and doubt. They should not ride the storm, but pour oil on the troubled waters. He then points out that the English Reformation,—

"Nullius addicta est jurare in verba magistri;"

for it had "no one great master-mind, like Luther or Calvin." And so the Reformed Church was the old Church with a difference. He then traces the growth of two parties, one more strictly episcopal, the other "at least sympathising with Presbyterian government; the one more earnest for the Sacraments of the Church, the other for the preaching of the Word; the one, consequently, more eager to adorn the sanctuary, the other to find space for convenience of the auditory; the one more careful to train the baptised young, the other to convert the grown-up sinner; the one more eager for pastoral work at home, the other for missionary enterprise; the one father of nearly all our modern theological literature, the other given up chiefly to devotional and practical writing; the one earnest for the corporate life, the other for personal religion; the one looking back to Christian antiquity, and tracing thence the one stream of Church life, the other looking into its Bible, and finding there the Christianity it is seeking for; the one dwelling much on repentance and striving after holiness, the other cheering the sin-laden soul with the hopes of pardon purchased by the blood of Christ."

And having thus traced the divergences, he sets himself to show that the unity within the Church is infinitely greater than the differences, and appeals for forbearance and

mutual toleration. He relegates the third or liberal school to a footnote, as though he thought their influence on English theology and opinion need hardly be considered. This done, he speaks of the controverted topics : of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the dress suitable for it ; of "Catholic" principles ; of the eastward position : he speaks temperately as to the Courts and judgments on these subjects, and once more appeals to the heated combatants to reconsider the position and to moderate their passions. Nor is he without good hopes :—

"From the experience derived from acquaintance with two very different dioceses I can say with confidence that the great body of the clergy are more sober and moderate in their views, and have really more sympathy with one another, than in almost any period of our past history—certainly than in any period of active life and zeal."

And he closes the long description by an interesting statement of his views as to the possible disestablishment of the Church ; a far larger and braver utterance than is commonly heard from episcopal lips :—

"No one would really gain by disestablishment so much as a Bishop. If my feelings were only for the aggrandisement of my order, I should work for disestablishment to-morrow. . . . But as I am a loyal subject to my sovereign, and as I believe in the liberty of an English citizen, I do not wish to see the English Church cease to be a part of the English Constitution. I am prepared, if Providence so orders it, to accept a Republican Government and a disestablished Church. I think the Church politically would then be far stronger than it is now ; but I don't think the nation would be happier ; . . . the extreme schools who wish for all this would be far less likely to find toleration. . . ."

His fear is that it would narrow the Church, weaken the influence of Christian dissent, swell the forces of

infidelity and indifference. And so, with a last appeal to all who name the only "Name under heaven whereby we may be saved," he bids his clergy "not rend the seamless coat, nor cast lots on it, whose it shall be. It is the one priceless heritage of Christians, and it is held as an undivided whole by the Church of Christ."

This Pastoral attracted great and general attention. As it proposed to leave the Ritualists alone and to discourage party strife, it was naturally not too acceptable to the fighting newspapers. The Nonconformists were strongly opposed to it, the Evangelical Alliance champions resented his calling their idea of unity hollow and ineffective. It may be also that some of the more advanced of the newer school of High Churchmen were in their hearts contemptuous towards an Eirenicon based on an attempt to neutralise, or at least to minimise, the doctrinal significance of their symbolic acts in the Holy Communion. They were not prepared to say that their elaborate and solemn ritual was doctrinally unimportant. Though they might not be willing to formulate definite statements as to the Presence, they were determined that every mark of obsequious honour should be paid to the Elements, in order that English Churchmen might become familiarised with the usages, and so be unconsciously prepared for the doctrine underneath. As, however, the Pastoral urged tolerance for them, they raised no protest, and accepted it so far as it went. On the other hand, most moderate Churchmen, and all the old High Church party, received the Pastoral with warm approval. The rural deaneries in some cases drew up memorials thanking the Bishop for his wise and temperate advice; and these documents were signed by men of very varied schools of thought.

Canon Trevor, a high authority on questions of Church

order, addressed the Bishop an interesting letter, which well deserves to be preserved here :—

“BEEFORD RECTORY, HULL, *December 20th, 1875.*

“It is, I believe, perfectly true that no public order was ever issued as to the position of the Tables substituted for the Altars. They were placed as the Ordinary (or whoever heard them) chose to set them. But I feel some surprise at your Lordship's doubt of the fact that they always stood length-wise, and that this was what was meant by the ‘table-wise’ position. I never met with any hint of a table being placed in the ‘altar-wise’ position, before Laud. It is often supposed that the change was made by the rubric of the Second Book; but in fact it was begun in London in the year 1549, and was justified under the rubric of the First Book in the Order of Council, November 1550. I have dwelt on this fact in the enlarged edition of my book on the Eucharist, as conclusive evidence that no doctrinal significance is involved in either position. The ‘table-gesture’ of Hooper and Knox was never allowed; of which Dr. Lorimer has supplied some interesting proofs in his monograph on John Knox. I rejoice to see your Lordship endorsing my protest against doctrinal significance. After all, it is the doctrine itself that most concerns us, and I have long been convinced that the root of all the Ritualistic excesses is the false doctrine of the ‘Objective’ Presence invented by Archdeacon Wilberforce in 1848, and since developed into consubstantiation by Dr. Pusey and Keble, and into transubstantiation by their less learned disciples. The main object of my book is to shew that this is not the doctrine of the Fathers or Anglican divines. Indeed, it was not Dr. Pusey's doctrine in his letter to the Bishop of London, 1850. He had not then discovered the ‘Objective’ theory. This is a bold assertion to make, but I have proved it (I think) from a mass of our divines, including Andrewes, Bramhall, Laud, etc., etc., and from the fathers relied on in the controversy, who are given in the originals in the Appendix. This has been the labour of my country life, and encountering, as I do, the extremes of both sides, I expect the hearty abuse of the *Church Times* and the *Rock*. The mischief is that we have no genuine Anglican Review, unless the new *Church Quarterly* supplies it. By the way, its article on the

Kantian Philosophy ought to dispose of the word 'Objective,' which properly means 'imaginary' and non-existent."

Sir Robert Phillimore, with his legal sagacity and High Church feeling, wished—

"that all the Bishops had as clear an apprehension of the perils to which our Church is now exposed. It is surely a very critical period; and to me the strangest of all things is that those in authority should see a safeguard against division in Acts of Parliament, past, present, and, I fear, to come."

Canon McColl quotes a letter from Mr. Gladstone, in which he says, "I am delighted with the Winchester Pastoral," and adds that "I have heard but one opinion of it from all shades of 'High Churchmanship,'—Machonochie, Lowder, and others."

And lastly, there is a brief note from Mr. Gladstone himself, in which he thanks the Bishop for—

"that wise and good gift to the Church which you have not feared to present, noiseless amid the din of arms. This phrase," he adds, "is not unnatural, for I write with the blood-red book of the good and well-meaning, but fussy and ill-balanced . . . in my eye. May your counsels of peace be blessed."

Such was the tone and temper of this Pastoral, which won the hearty commendation of all that was most high-minded in his diocese. In this spirit he replied to those who complained of the use of a manual or "Book of the Mission" drawn up by the Cowley Fathers, and brought into use at the Southampton "Mission" of 1876. To the lay remonstrants, headed by Mr. Hankinson, he replied: "I am very sorry that missions . . . should be so conducted as to lead to or encourage habitual confession, or the system known as 'direction,' or the system of the

‘enquiry room’ ” ; and he points out the wholesome directions of the prayer-book on the subject. And the clergy he assured, through Mr. Wigram of Highfield, that in approving the mission he had no thought of giving sanction as Bishop to any system of enforced confession or direction.

“ Whatever may be desirable in the case of one unable to satisfy his conscience by confessing his sins to God, I agree with you in holding that the Church does not encourage habitual compulsory sacramental confession to man, or the system known under the name of Direction. I believe, moreover, that that system is warranted neither by Scripture nor by the practice of the Primitive Church.”

A little later he received a remonstrance from certain clergy in Portsmouth against language used of the Holy Communion. He does not propose to enter into discussion or controversy : he desires a large toleration for “ all that is fairly within the lines of the English Church,” and is not indifferent to the maintenance of fundamental truth or the banishing of serious error. He has by God’s blessing preserved members of our Church from seceding to Rome, has converted Romanist priests, notably a well-known Father Felix, to the English Church, and in the opposite direction has preserved men from infidelity. He then explains minutely and somewhat subtly the bearing of a phrase, “ Prepare to receive the Lord’s Body into the palm of your hand.” The words, he says, “ are very objectionable as likely to mislead, and yet they do not necessarily imply Transubstantiation, still less the ‘ Material Presence ’ (which is very different from Transubstantiation).” If they did, then our Lord’s words, “ This is my Body,” must be taken, as the Romanists take it, as Christ’s authority for that doctrine. He also condemns such a phrase as “ a share in the Prayers of the B. V. M.

and all Thy saints." Still, feeling Portsmouth to be in great need of zealous clergy and men willing to work amongst the lowest of the population, he is not prepared to interfere hastily.

"On this ground, while I am myself deeply attached to the simple ancient faith and practice of the English Church, and whilst I greatly deprecate any extravagance of Church doctrine or ceremony as calculated to weaken the Church and cause prejudice against it, yet I cannot wholly check the exertions of men on either side who are zealous, even if they are sometimes extravagant, knowing that zeal is always in danger of degenerating into extravagance."

Soon after this time, in 1877, the Bishop wrote on similar subjects to a lady eminent in active good works in the slums and courts of London; she had written to him, anxious to see her way in dealing with confession as a very important factor in the conversion of sinners.

"I don't think confession wrong," he writes, "or even undesirable, when there is special need for some unrelieved weight upon the conscience; but I am afraid lest the habit should weaken the conscience instead of strengthening it. Confession has been called 'the luxury of repentance.' . . . It is possible that some may be so weak as to need to be led by the hand. I believe it far better to acquire a habit of leaning on the Hand of Jesus and letting Him guide us and sustain us.

"The craving ever for human support and to tell our griefs, trials, and temptations to human ears, is, I think, morbid, not the healthy condition of the Christian soul. To tell them all to the Saviour, receive absolution from Him in private and with our brethren in the Church and at Holy Communion,—this appears to me healthy and true."

Again, ten years later, he addressed a letter to the same lady on the Reservation of the Elements in primitive days

"FARNHAM CASTLE, *August 22nd*, 1887.

"MY DEAREST —,—Dora gave me a message from you about Reservation of the Eucharist. I believe the facts to be these:—The first mention of it is by Justin Martyr, who simply records that the consecrated Elements were carried from the church by the deacons to the sick (Apol., p. 98). This was in the middle of the second century. Towards the end of that century (if Eusebius reports his words rightly), Irenæus speaks of the Bishop of Rome as having sent the Eucharist to the brethren of other Churches as a token of brotherly love. We find not long after that the consecrated Elements were kept in the house of the priest (Eus., vi. 44), and also in private houses, that they might be received in case of sudden illness or danger of death. That it was not the one Species only that was reserved appears from a passage in St. Chrysostom (tom. iv., p. 681), where he complains that soldiers broke into the church, and the *Holy Blood* was sprinkled upon them.

"One custom of the Eastern Church was 'the Mass of the Pre-sanctified.' In Lent they did not like to consecrate the Elements, except on Saturdays, Sundays, and great festivals. The people communicated on other days, so the Elements were consecrated on the festivals and kept for communion through the week. All this, no doubt, led to communion in one kind. It was not easy to send both kinds to a distance; so probably but one kind was sent. The whole originated in the simple notion of sending the Sacrament direct to the sick and absent. The rest grew gradually, till it reached, in the Western Church, the reserving of the one Species only, and the communicating the laity in that alone. In the Eastern Church the bread is still dipped in the chalice, and so both Species are received."

Interesting as are these examples of the way in which the Bishop worked out his middle path, it is clear that he was under no delusion about them, but saw that more was necessary than an appeal to reason and antiquity.

Feeling that there was much restlessness on these subjects, the Bishop thought at first that matters might be smoothed by a conference on Ritual between High Church-

men and some moderate men, lay and clerical. The Bishop of Peterborough and other Bishops warmly supported the scheme. It was proposed not to invite the "intransigentes," the extreme men likely to refuse all compromise, but only those who had the unity of the English Church at heart, and were willing to make some sacrifice for her sake. It was thought that a "modus vivendi," on lines of moderate Church principles and reasonable obedience to episcopal authority, might be secured by friendly conference, and the irritating difficulty as to allegiance to the lay courts avoided. Bishop Harvey Goodwin went so far as to formulate his view of the course of action to be followed. The Ritualists were to produce their scheme of Church government, and the Bishops to consider it, using it as a basis for their deliberations, in strictly private meetings among themselves. Nothing, however, came of it.

This scheme (in the end of 1876 and beginning of 1877) having thus failed, the Bishop had yet another plan to lay before his diocese. This time he would not grasp at too much; but fell back on the episcopal authority, and hoped to discover a course by which that authority could be brought to bear on the divergent parties, so as to impose a light yoke of uniformity on all.

It seemed to him that the eminent success with which he had carried out his diocesan Conferences was really almost without practical results. It was quite true, as Mr. Lewis M. Owen, the Secretary to the Conferences, wrote to Mrs. Harold Browne, that the Bishop's presidency had been most successful.

"I feel," he writes on November 8th, 1876, soon after the close of one of the yearly meetings, "that I must tell *you* what every one has been saying to-day about our good Bishop.

"I have conversed with representative men of all grades and shades of opinion, some of them famous for their fastidiousness; and all agree in saying that his skill in managing the Conference was something marvellous. I have heard nothing but praise and admiration of his speeches for their wisdom and good taste, to say nothing about the learning which came out in every part of them.

"The general feeling amongst the lay folk is,—led by such a chief as we have we feel ready to do anything for him or for the diocese. I travelled homewards with Mr. Cowper Temple, who came away simply delighted with his Bishop. The Dean describes his conduct of the business as most masterly, and other equally good judges agree."

Yet he still felt that more was needed.

"There is no Christian Church," he cries, "no Christian sect, which is not more closely organised than the Church of England. We rest," he adds, "on our connection with the State and our parochial system; the former giving us a machinery not all our own, the latter strengthening, if isolating, our efforts. And as the Church existed and flourished for centuries without either State support or parishes, and may at any time again lose both, we must organise, by conferences, by ruridecanal meetings, by more activity in the Cathedral body (to whom he addressed these remarks at his Visitation), and in parishes by the establishment of parish councils, which will often be found of use, both for counsel and for work."

He had also hit on another plan, that of Diocesan Synods, which the Bishop of each diocese should call together once a year. And in September 1877 he issued the following circular to each of the members of a committee of Conference. It will be seen that the point of it is the hope of peace to be attained through authoritative decisions of a Bishop in matters of ritual. The Bishop was prepared to promulge in a Synod of his clergy "the Law of Ritual for the diocese, to continue in force till further order be taken by authority higher than that of a single Bishop in his Synod."

The answers to his circular were not encouraging. His reply to his friend Mr. John Pares of Southsea shews this very clearly (September 12th, 1877):—

“I am very much obliged to you for your kind letter and all that it says. I am thankful to find that you are sanguine. I confess it seems to me that the clouds are very dark. I find almost all the laymen unfavourable to the Synod. Most of the clergy are for it.”

Chancellor Sumner sent him a very clear view of the difficulties surrounding the authority of such a diocesan Synod. 1. He doubted the sanction for it; it is not in the Canons. 2. Custom and use fail entirely. 3. The Prayer Book nowhere seems to point to it; on the contrary, the Bishop is to resolve doubts, and, if necessary, he must appeal to the Archbishop. 4. What would be the procedure? Discussion? resolutions? and decisions? If so, who shall guarantee their soundness? if not, why the assembly? The Bishop's dicta would really derive their weight from his character and office, not from the fact of their promulgation in Synod. 5. If a code of laws or ritual were laid down in Synod, it might easily clash with the Act of Uniformity. 6. The appeal from the Bishop's ruling would be illusory. 7. Different dioceses would lay down different codes, and there would be many “uses.” This would be an unwholesome and dangerous state of things. He ends by urging that, considering the difficulties, dangers, and even the positive evils likely to arise from such synodical action, the Bishop should pause before trying it. A still higher authority, Lord Selborne, entered at great length into the subject, in two letters, which are so weighty that they are here given as the view of the legal mind when most friendly to the Church.

On September 8th, 1877, he says:—

“The judicial supremacy of the Crown is really the

keystone of the existing settlement between Church and State; and I cannot doubt it is an essential part of the idea of the Royal Supremacy, not only as embodied in the statutes of the Reformation epoch, but as affirmed in the Canons and the Thirty-Nine Articles. To deny or resist it is *ipso facto* to commence the work of disestablishment; and it seems to me that the principle of the scruple in question is essentially at variance with it. How these scruples could be met by a ruling *ex cathedra* of the Bishop in a Diocesan Synod, unless that ruling proceeded on the assumption that without it the decisions of the Queen's Court of Appeal were not binding on the consciences of the clergy, but might be made so by it, I do not at present see. But a ruling, proceeding on that assumption, would appear to me to be full of danger. It is, I conceive, quite certain that, in a legal point of view, such a ruling could have no force whatever, and would add nothing to the obligation which the law considers to be laid on the clergy without it. Nor do I see how it could add anything to the pre-existing obligation *in foro conscientie*, unless the Bishop (if he differed from the Court of Appeal in his own private opinion) would be equally at liberty to lay down the law otherwise; in which case I, for one, should certainly be unable to admit that such a ruling would be, either legally or morally, binding.

"It is, of course, possible that you may have in view some mode of proceeding which would avoid these difficulties; e.g., to declare, in Diocesan Synod, not merely that the Bishop, *ex cathedra*, pronounced the law as laid down by the Judicial Committee to be binding upon his clergy, but also that he does so upon a principle which recognises the jurisdiction and authority of the Queen's supreme Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical causes. If this could be done, and if it would answer the intended purpose, my apprehensions would be obviated.

"There can be no doubt that, according to the decisions of the Judicial Committee in the Purchas and Ridsdale cases, the cope ought to be worn in cathedral and collegiate churches at the administration of Holy Communion.

"Believe me, my dear Lord,

"Yours faithfully,

"SELBORNE."

And this was followed by a second letter, in which he goes more into the matter of ritual observances and the late judgments. It will be seen that he commits himself to no expression which could be regarded as favourable to the synodical action proposed by the Bishop.

"BLACKMOOR, PETERSFIELD.

"September 12th, 1877.

"MY DEAR LORD,—If any way can be found by which the object you have in view can be accomplished without the danger which I apprehend, I do not doubt you will discover it. But it seems to me to be ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς. That is all I need say further about it.

"I confess that my own hopes from the more moderate section of the clergy who follow (for truth obliges me to make this admission in their favour) Mr. Keble's later teaching have been pretty well extinguished by the events of this year, and particularly by those events which *preceded* the delivery of the judgment in the Ridsdale case, and of which subsequent effects have been only the natural sequel. They seem to me to shew that, when men have once become well entangled in the meshes of party Association, the effort necessary for a change of attitude (even if the safety of the Church is at stake) is greater than the majority can make.

"Of the stronger minds of the party, some are always in the front rank of the movement; and these are able, practically, to regulate the action of the great majority, who are well-meaning but weak. History seems to shew that it always has been so, in the origin of all schisms and heresies: the heresiarchs lead; they have an active immediate following, violent and unscrupulous, and the rest, who learn their shibboleths, go down the inclined plane into heresy, without being aware of it.

"I am not, therefore, sanguine as to your success. The subscribers to the *Church Times*, etc., and the members of the 'Order of Corporate Reunion,' the 'English Church Union,' and the other self-constituted confraternities which have undermined and disintegrated our Church, will (I feel only too sure) set at naught all episcopal declarations against their views, whether made in Diocesan Synod or elsewhere, as they have always hitherto done. Experience

also compels me to fear, that Dr. Pusey and Canon Liddon, etc., will continue to side with them against all Bishops whatsoever, and that this intermediate influence will prevent those on whose disposition to accept an *ex cathedra* utterance of their Bishop (on the condition that he does not expressly recognise the duty of obeying the law of the land in such ecclesiastical matters as those in question) you are at present encouraged to rely, from using the means of escape from a false position which you desire to provide for them.

"I am far from thinking that it is 'inconsistent with loyalty to the present constitution in Church and State' to try such an experiment; nor can I presume to say that there may not be enough chance of some good resulting from it to make it worth trying. But you will, I am sure, pardon me for finding it difficult to trust in the effect of palliatives with those who are radically disaffected towards that constitution, and to whom every new manifestation of the power of the law (which they defy but cannot defeat) will be a fresh occasion of discontent. I agree most entirely in what you say as to the gravity of the crisis. We seem to me to be, ecclesiastically and politically also, on a volcano's edge; and these men are doing all in their power to make it overwhelm us. . . .

"Believe me, ever, my dear Lord,

"Yours faithfully,

"SELBORNE."

With Dr. Millard he entered into correspondence on the subject, and the letters shew how carefully he had studied the historical aspects of synodical action.

"FARNHAM CASTLE, *September 7th, 1877.*

"MY DEAR DR. MILLARD,—Your correspondent seems to be entirely ignorant of the nature of a Diocesan Synod. If he will read Benedict XIV., 'De Synodo Diœcesana,' or Ferrari's 'Prompta Bibliotheca s.v. Synodus Diœcesana,' or Thomassinus, or any other Canonist of authority, he will see that though, in a Diocesan Synod, the Bishop should ask the counsel of his *Chapter*, and propose to his Synod whether they will accept his decrees by acclamation, yet he is not bound by the counsel of his Chapter or the acclamation of his Synod, but is the sole legislator. 'In

Synodo Diœcesium potest Episcopus facere constitutiones et decreta absque consensu et approbatione capituli et cleri. . . . Solus potestatem legislativam statuendi habet, et consilium sequi non tenetur' (Ferrari). The Bishop of Lincoln in his Synod proceeded on this principle. I explained to the Conference that I preferred generally a *Conference* to a *Synod*, because in every true *Synod* of the Church Catholic the Bishop or the Bishops were always absolute, and I did not desire to be absolute. In the question of ritual, the ancient power of the Bishop was even exceptionally great. Each Bishop would frame his own Liturgy, and in early times even vary the form of the Creed (Bingham, Book II., ch. vi., ss. 2, 3). It was the Act of Uniformity which took away their power from Anglican Bishops. But still the right to interpret is reserved to Bishops. It is only by falling back on an Act of Parliament that the Catholic authority of a Bishop, either alone or in his Synod, can be disputed. It was with the hope of saving the Ritualists that I desired to hold a Synod, and by ecclesiastical authority pronounce on Ritual. Very High Churchmen have entreated me to do so, as the last hope of peace; but the lay members of the Committee are so strong against it (only two clerical members siding with them) that I feel I must give it up. I am very sorry; for unless something can be done to appease the present diversity, I am sure that the Church will go to pieces. Both sides wax fiercer and fiercer. I am inundated with furious appeals from both extremes. Already the strength given to dissent and infidelity by our contentions is very grievous. The Low Church party in the Church was moribund, and almost *in extremis*. It is now triumphant among the laity, and gains fresh strength even among the young candidates for Orders. This is wholly due to the impracticable conduct of the advanced Ritualists."

"Believe me, ever,

"Most truly yours,

"E. H. WINTON."

And again he writes from Farnham on September 10th:—

"MY DEAR DR. MILLARD,—Very many thanks for what you say. I am more apprehensive of a difficulty coming from the opposite side, viz., from those who are

jealous for the Royal Supremacy; *e.g.*, Lord Selborne. I think your objections might be moderated (not perhaps removed) by the following statements.

"1. A Diocesan Synod never deliberated. *Gravamina* were presented to the Bishop (to which presentments at visitations now correspond); causes were heard by the Bishop (now transferred to the Consistory Courts); and laws were promulged by the Bishop, which were not discussed, but received by acclamation or objected to, but *not* therefore *rejected*, by acclamation or by silence.

"2. The form in which I should propose to promulge any law or decision would be this. 'The Law of the Church for this diocese *at present, and till further order shall be taken*, is so and so.' By this means nothing would be stereotyped or rivetted. Only, if it were obeyed, the result would be *present* uniformity (*e.g.*, acceptance of the surplice in parish and of the cope in cathedral churches) and prosecutions would be prevented. My special purpose is to let down the extreme men as gently as possible.

"Most truly yours,

"E. H. WINTON."

It is clear from his next letter that Dr. Millard took a good and wholesome English alarm at the huge increase in the episcopal authority here foreshadowed. The Bishop's reply to his remonstrance may well close the subject:—

"FARNHAM CASTLE, *September 20th*, 1877.

"MY DEAR Dr. MILLARD,—I shall be very sorry if I leave an impression on your mind that I am not grateful to you for freely and fully expressing your views. I am sure that any experiment now is dangerous; but I think the crisis altogether so very perilous, that a bold policy seems to be the best. The laity, who advise against the Synod, do so generally on very opposite principles from those which guide you. They fear the Bishop's taking a position of apparent antagonism to, or at least independence of the law, and so a distinct move being made to disestablishment.

"As to the paper which you sent me from an unknown writer, it seemed to me that he wholly misunderstood my plan, and the nature of Synods. I never dreamed of a mongrel Synod. It appears to me that our only alternative

is the true ancient Synods of the Church, *or* Conferences of Bishop, clergy, and laity. I believe that the Church may always adapt itself to new necessities. In ages of comparative rudeness laymen were unfit to join in counsel. Now, I do not think we can work without them. If I attempted to revive Diocesan Synods side by side with Conferences, I should certainly revive the ancient Diocesan Synod. I incline even to the same view as regards Convocation. Provincial Synods were Synods of Bishops only. In the thirteenth century the addition of abbots and other ecclesiastics was made to the Provincial Synod in this country (and in this country only, I believe); and that addition was originally quite as much from national as from ecclesiastical expediency, if not wholly from national expediency. This has grown into a Convocation of prelates and clergy. As it is not the ancient Provincial Synod, but a form of Council unknown to antiquity, I see no reason why a lay chamber should not be added, if such lay chamber should seem likely to give strength and popularity to it.

"In the Middle Ages, Diocesan Synods were not summoned annually; often but once in an Episcopate, and often because of some grave necessity. There seems to me now a *dignus vindice nodus*. But a considerable majority, on very different grounds, dissuade.

"I hope you are right in your sanguine expectations. We are on our beam ends; and the crew, if not in actual mutiny, have no united action. As far as my power of judging goes I should say that there was universal distrust. I do not for a moment think that the ship will sink; but I do fear that the one organisation in Christendom which has hitherto succeeded in keeping up religious life in a nation may be altogether disorganised. France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, have all but lost anything like true national Christian life. There is a pretty strong Ultramontane Church, and a very weak Protestant Church, in all of them; but the Ultramontane, which is the only real power, is extra-national. It does not pervade the national life. Up to this time, the Anglican Church, with all its defects, has held the nation more or less true to its faith, and (imperfectly) loyal to its Head. There are alarming symptoms that this is a state of things rapidly passing away. The operatives are nearly lost to us. The middle class has long been largely dissenting. And now

the gentry are rapidly going off to rationalism or indifference. All the work we are doing does not seem to arrest the downward progress, or to remove the distrust. Let us trust in Providence and Grace. But we must act wisely under that in which we trust.

“Pardon length, haste, and scrawl.

“Most truly yours,

“E. H. WINTON.”

The reluctance and remonstrances of the large majority of the committee led the Bishop to abandon the scheme ; one sees from above with what despondency he bowed to their opinion. There is no doubt that the view he took of the action of a Bishop in Synod, the high-water-mark of episcopal claims to authority, would, if carried out in all dioceses, have had many very dangerous tendencies. With him, who would have judged and spoken with learning and temperate consideration for others, and in a true spirit of Christian charity, the results might have been productive of peace and goodwill ; it would not have been so everywhere.

It is pleasant to have to record, as the conclusion of the effort which at this time had given the Bishop so much anxiety, that the Rev. D. Elsdale, of St. John's, Kennington, protesting against the extravagant language used by more extreme men, spoke as follows respecting the decisions of his diocesan :—

“If our Bishops are to trust us, we must trust them. I have myself the fullest confidence in the saintly character and godly prudence of my own diocesan, not only generally, but in this particular decision, which is a more inconvenient one to me than to any one else in the world. When I found that the Bishop had deliberately decided it, I was neither persistent in my remonstrances nor peevish in my complaints. I only trust in the great day of account I may be judged to have acted as uprightly and bravely, as kindly and humbly, as my Father in God has acted.”

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION AT WINCHESTER.

1873—1890.

A PART from the anxieties arising out of the unsettled state of Church opinion and practice, the Bishop's Winchester life was full of work which taxed his powers of endurance. He was well over sixty when he made the change. No man ever spared himself less. He took great pains with his Confirmations. Before he had been at Winchester a year he crossed, with much apprehension and suffering, to the Channel Islands, and took Confirmations in Guernsey, Jersey, and Sark; preached missionary sermons; suggested his favourite Conferences, to be held at "two or three centres"; discussed the Public Worship Bill, over which he had been at variance with the Archbishop, and expressed his approval of the Act, because it strengthened the Bishop's hands without an appeal to the law courts. His visit roused great interest in the Islands, and he was welcomed very cordially wherever he appeared. Consecrations of churches, meetings of Convocation, diocesan Conferences, many sermons, filled up all his days; one wonders how he could have found a moment for the weighty topics which occupied his pen during these years. No wonder if, in the Church Congress at Plymouth, in 1876, he summed up a rather heated discussion on the increase of the episcopate with an address, in which he

declared that the work of the dioceses was much better done than people seemed to think, and that it was the Bishops who really had most cause to complain ; he ended by saying that an increase in their number was needed as much for their own sake as for the sake of their flocks.

He held a formal Cathedral Visitation on the last day of April, 1878, and took the opportunity of delivering a Charge to the officials of the mother church of his diocese. After saying that in origin Cathedral establishments were closely connected with the missionary work of the Church, and tracing the growth of the system to the present form, he goes on to lay out his views as to their true functions. There ought to be an active body gathered round their Bishop, intent on the advance of the Christian faith, holding, as from the beginning, the posts of danger and hard work, if also posts of honour and influence. He brushes aside the thought of a leisurely clergy, keeping up "the solemnities of an elaborate worship," "enjoying a dignified retirement in old age." "All points," he says, "to the Chapters as learned bodies, the Bishop's counsellors ; intent on teaching and preaching throughout the diocese. The old notion of a great Bishop, sitting in isolated grandeur, has become a thing of the past." He no longer administers his diocese with no assistance but that of a lawyer at his side ! He must take counsel with the clergy and laity. Advisers, teachers, missionaries, must the future Cathedral bodies be. He also shews what should be the true status and honourable work of Priest Vicars, or of Minor Canons ; nor does he forget an encouraging word to Lay Vicars, and clerks, vergers, sidesmen, and chorister boys.

This Visitation was followed immediately by one of the diocese generally, in which he gave utterance to his strong alarm as to the "organised" spread of infidelity in the

country. This he attributed chiefly to the luxury of the last half-century, and summed up the result of it in the appalling formula, "No God, no responsibility, no sin, no goodness, no spiritual happiness here, no hereafter," and treated it as an invasion of materialistic ideals of life and happiness, the very antithesis of "altruism," Christian or non-Christian. He mooted the topic again at the "Pan-Anglican" Synod at Lambeth on July 4th, 1878, in terms which are, says the *Standard*, "remarkable alike for intellectual vigour and personal piety."

These labours and utterances were followed by a Charge "as remarkable for the variety of topics it handles, as for the sound common-sense and practical ability with which it handles them." It ranges over a wide field: the Confessional, the awkward form of the modern diocese of Rochester, religious education, the Dilapidations Act, the cottages of the working folk, allotments, the modern developments of infidelity, the resistance of some of the clergy to the Public Worship Amendment Act.

This was followed by the Anglo-Continental Society's meeting at Farnham; and the more public labours of his year were completed by the two-days' Conference at Winchester in October, in which he again attacked the subject of unbelief, and took a lively and interested share in discussions on Church property and on Institutions for Deaconesses; he ended by saying (as he had every right to say) that "he had taken a large part in the debates, and that he hoped they would give him credit for having no intention of biassing in any degree the free expression of opinion by his brethren."

The Bishop's position as one of the preachers or readers of papers at Church Congresses was now completely assured. His interest in these gatherings from the beginning, his moderation, even his fears and despondencies, marked

him out for the post ; he rarely missed a Congress, and, when present, often preached one of the opening sermons. The first of these discourses was delivered at Swansea (October 7th, 1879). In the 1881 Congress he read a paper on "the practical working of Cathedrals ;" in 1883, at Reading, he preached a somewhat notable sermon on Antichrist. In 1884 he delivered an address on "The Advantages of an Established Church," at Carlisle ; in 1885, at the Portsmouth Congress, another "On Some of the Difficulties of Working-Men." After this, his failing health forbade him any longer to venture on such exciting and fatiguing tasks.

The active administrative work of the diocese was beginning to tell on him ; and the heavy calls on his purse added to his anxiety. Writing to Bishop McDougall in 1881, he lets us see how his sensitive nature felt the painful side of his duties :—

"Ordination," he says, "goes on generally well : but I am greatly shaken from having had to reject two men yesterday, one . . . who says he has a wife grievously ill, who may probably die of it. These are the saddest of all trials as a Bishop."

His ordinations were to him, as they must be to all Bishops, times of unusual stress and anxiety. Yet, as Canon Edgar Jacob well says, speaking of these periods :—

"The leading idea which a young man would take away with him, would be that he had been brought into contact with one of the most tender and fatherly men he had ever met in his life, of exquisite refinement, and most touching humility ; and that he had been allowed to share in such a family-life as is rarely seen. . . . I have always thought that the Bishop represented the episcopate in its fatherly aspect more perfectly than any one I ever knew, and at an ordination this was especially emphasised. The Bishop took little part in any examinations. On the occasions on

which he felt unable to pass a candidate, the pain which it gave him to reject a man I can hardly describe, or the exquisite delicacy with which such a decision was communicated. . . . You know the combination of feelings which a young man brings to such a week of abiding memories. . . . He would carry away from Farnham impressions not only of the kindest hospitality, but of a family life, which would do him a world of good in the parish to which he might be sent."

Many a man can bear out what Canon Jacob here says, and can look back on this sacred vestibule of his clerical life with the deepest thankfulness.

Nor was his daily work without more exciting elements.

"Threatening letters," he writes another day to Bishop McDougall, "are not confined to Corsica. I had one, anonymous, a few days ago, to the effect that if I do not stop Confession at St. John's, Kennington (which is no longer in my diocese), the father of one of the girls will put a bullet through my head at Esdaile's without further notice."

This amused rather than alarmed him. He was much more seriously affected by the heated state of opinion at this period in Bournemouth, where on the death of Mr. Bennett, the Vicar of St. Peter's, a kind of warfare had broken out between Church-parties, always specially inflammable and irritable at watering-places.

In October 1879 we find the Bishop, as Visitor, present at the 500th Anniversary of the foundation of New College, Oxford; and in the renovated chapel he delivered an address to the assembled College, in which he gave expression to the forebodings, happily never realised, with which he and very many regarded the reform of the Universities, and his fears lest in the future the influences of religion would be less potent there than they had been in the past. The sad note of alarm which sounds through

the address was characteristic of his temperament, which longed only to see the College moving along the ancient ways, not engaged in what he calls "the death-struggle of agnosticism against faith, but reverting in spirit and use to the traditions of their great founder, William of Wykeham."

A little later he laid the first stone of the new Isle of Wight College, and gave the Island folk a very interesting account of his visit to Dr. Arnold at Rugby many years before, and of that great man's desire that his school should be a potent influence for good in the formation and strengthening of the religious and moral natures of the youth of England.

Nothing, it may be, shook the Bishop so much as the sudden and dramatic death of his friend and coadjutor Bishop Utterton. That excellent and very lovable man had been told that his life was hanging on a thread, and for some time had been walking in the full knowledge that the summons might come at any moment. It came to him, as a good man would most wish and pray that it might come, in perfect peace, without fear or suffering, as he was about his Father's business. On Sunday, December 21st, 1879, he read the Communion Service in the parish church at Ryde, and when he had ended the Prayer for the Church Militant, knelt down and gave himself to silent devotion. At that moment the summons came, and he yielded up his spirit to his Master.

"His death," the Bishop writes, "throws a sad gloom on all the diocese. He was all you say of him, and the longer I knew him, the more highly I esteemed him. He was thoroughly and actively kind, never sparing himself in the work of his Master and his fellow-servants. To me he was thoroughly loyal and useful. He knew the diocese, and always gave me honest counsel. His death was most striking. After a week of hard work, going to Ryde to preach twice, preaching an eloquent sermon, and uttering

as his last words, 'that with them we may be partakers of Thy heavenly kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' May we meet him there!"

The archdeaconry of Surrey, thus rendered vacant, the Bishop filled up by an appointment which did him honour. For no one who knew Archdeacon Atkinson could have failed to recognise in him very high and noble gifts of Christian power and faith. But the Bishop shall speak for himself. Writing from Farnham on January 8th, 1880, he says:—

"I have appointed Atkinson of Dorking to the archdeaconry, which carries a canonry. He has been only five years in the diocese, and it seems a little hard to place him above such men as A., B., or C., but I think he has qualifications which none of them [possess]. He is, what none of them are, a very able speaker and preacher. He conciliates every one without being a time-server. Then, he is an excellent organiser, a thorough gentleman and devout Christian, a sound and moderate Churchman. I am afraid he is not strong, and may therefore have to give up Dorking, but I have not urged him to do so, for he is extremely beloved there, and it would be very hard to fill his place as a parish priest. He is the man the Dean [Bramston] wished for, and I learn that he is the man whom Utterton would have wished to succeed him. I trust he will be acceptable to you."

The Bishop now seems to have thought that he could cope alone with the diocese, relying on the cordial and ever ready help of Bishop McDougall. For eight years, in spite of his failing strength, he persevered, and it was not till 1888 that he summoned Archdeacon Sumner to his aid.

During the year 1880 the Bishop's labours were not lightened in any way. In addition to the ordinary routine duties of the See, he, as Bishop and Visitor, opened the new Modern School at Winchester in May, with a speech

which involved the very difficult task of treating gently the feelings of both the City and the College, and of shewing that it was a good thing to have education divided, not by the substance of it, or by the subjects taught, but by the grades of society attending school. He also threw some life into a very dry matter—the praises of Latin as a subject for education—by saying that he had known of a very excitable youth of nineteen whose brain was in danger, and his friends saved him by prescribing, as the dullest and most sobering thing they could think of, a steady course of long doses of Latin grammar; and he felt sure, too, that the ancients had been exceeding wise in selecting *amo* as the first example of a Latin verb, because of the soothing effect it was known to have on the youthful eagerness of boys, who, but for some such cooling medicine, would always be in danger of falling in love.

A month or so later we find him taking part in the festivities and speech-making at his old College of Lampeter, on occasion of the opening of the new chapel. And he closed the year by a long address, delivered before the Christian Evidences Society at Bournemouth, on the strife between faith and infidelity, a topic now pressing ever more and more on his mind.

Early in 1881 a Resolution was agreed to by the Upper House of Convocation calling on Government to appoint a Commission on the Ecclesiastical Courts, and he was made a member of it. On this Commission he sat for two years. He felt that the three Courts, (1) that of First Instance, the Bishops', (2) the Archbishop's Court of Appeal, and (3) the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, were all open to objection. How could they be better framed so as to maintain at once the supremacy of the Crown and the liberties of the Church and of Churchmen? He was in favour of making the Arch-

bishop's Court, in which the Archbishop himself sat with comprovincial Bishops as assessors, the final Court of Appeal. "It would be a Court of the most primitive character, from which appeal could be made to the Queen in a secular court if wrong were done to the civil rights or temporalities of her subjects."

Twice in Bishop Harold Browne's life, in 1868 and 1882, he seemed likely to become Archbishop of Canterbury; and, in 1868 at any rate, he would have welcomed the promotion, proud to be enrolled in the list of Primates.

In a letter to Prebendary Meyrick he says :—

"You refer to what occurred fourteen years ago (in 1868). I do not suppose I was so near the Primacy then, for . . . was resolved on Tait; but I came near enough to be advertised and congratulated. . . . Such 'close shaves' seldom happen to one man in relation to offices so important. They are all ordered by wisdom and love, and form part of the trials and yet blessings of one's life."

There is a curious letter from one of the Bishop's disappointed friends, who writes that, talking to one of the Cabinet Ministers,—

"I ventured to say that Bishops of London not unusually succeeded [to the Primacy]. He said most positively, 'You may make yourself quite sure about him—he is *impossible*.' He then said, 'It is quite incredible, the number of letters I and others in the Cabinet have received from every part of the country urging the nomination of your friend the B——p of E—y.' 'Well,' I said, 'he is the very man. He is liked by all classes, and would be popular with all parties. He is a thorough gentleman, which is not the case with *every* Bishop, and he has that in him, both spiritually and intellectually, which would ensure his rising to the height of any emergency.' His eyes sparkled, and his face was suffused with smiles, and he said, 'Well, we shall see—only, remember, I don't know anything.' . . . Nothing more passed, till I saw the present appointment. I was furious at the thought of an Eras-

tian and champion of Colenso and patron of Stanley being selected by a Conservative Premier on the eve of a general election, and I told — that I looked on D—— as a humbug, that I would as soon see G—— in his place as not, and that I should not vote to keep such an impostor in office."

In 1882 the Bishop was again much spoken of for the throne of Canterbury. Nothing, indeed, but his years and growing infirmities stood between him and the Primacy. Mrs. Harold Browne was consulted as to the state of the Bishop's health, and her opinion asked as to whether she thought he could stand the strain of the new duties and of a change of work, considering his age, seventy-one, and his state of health. Her necessarily cautious and guarded reply may have left the impression that she dreaded a change for her husband.

There was a general feeling that the Bishop of Winchester would be a very safe appointment. There was nothing but good will towards him from the highest downwards. The dying Archbishop wished it. The Bishop of Gibraltar, one of Archbishop Tait's most intimate friends, writes that—

"In the summer before he died he said to me, 'Who ought to be my successor?' At first I refused to answer; but when pressed I said, 'The Bishop of Winchester.' He replied, 'Why, he is as old as I am, and as infirm; give me another answer.' I declined, and the subject dropped. In the autumn, when he was very ill, he sent for me and said, 'I want your advice. Ought I to resign?' My reply was, 'No, not now; the doctors give hope of recovery. But if, when spring returns and the work of the new year begins, you find that your strength has not returned, I think you ought to resign.' 'So do I,' said Tait, 'and that is the course I mean to take. Now I will ask you again the question I asked you in the summer: who should be my successor?' 'I give you the same answer I gave you

before,' I replied—' the Bishop of Winchester.' ' Right,' he said, ' though he is old, yet in existing circumstances he is the fittest for the office.' "

And again, in conversation with the present Bishop of Rochester, the Archbishop went so far as to say :—

" I should be truly thankful to think it certain that the Bishop of Winchester would succeed me at Lambeth. He could do more than any other man to preserve the Church in peace for its real work against sin. I pray God he may be appointed, and may accept the call."

Bishop Harold Browne's accounts of his last interview with Archbishop Tait are too interesting to be omitted here. The first is addressed to his old friend Prebendary Meyrick, the other to his wife :—

" November 28th, 1882.

" I went to Addington yesterday to bid a long farewell, though at my age it may not be very long, as I trust we may meet, by God's mercy in Christ, in the Paradise of God and in the presence of the Lamb. Most touching our interview was. The strong man, with almost iron will, gentle and humble as a child, full of patience and love. To me he was very affectionate, and I knelt in prayer with him at his own wish, and (as he said) to his great comfort. It seems presumptuous to pray, in words of blessing, for one greater and better than oneself. I feel sure of his true Christian spirit, though I have often differed with him in times past. We have long been on terms of warm friendship, and a deathbed unites in faith and scatters all trifling differences.

" Most affectionately yours,

" E. H. WINTON."

" BOSSINGTON HOUSE, STOCKBRIDGE,

" November 28th, 1882.

" It was a scene of sadness, but yet of comfort. He is very weak, and was much affected. We mingled our

prayers and our tears. He was full of gentleness, patience, and love ; spoke of his own faults as chief ruler, but of his hopes for the Church as well as for himself ; sent his love and blessing to all mine, spoke of his probable (as he thought and hoped) successor too much in the same direction that you point. I fear some successor will be soon. He is evidently sinking, but in this fine weather it may be slowly. It is very striking and full of pathos to see a strong man, with such a will as he had, so like a little child going home to his Father. May the Father support and guide and receive him, and supply his place (it will be a large void) to the Church."

And a very few days later, on Advent Sunday, the Bishop writes :—

"I have a telegram to say that the Archbishop died peacefully at 7.15 this morning. Mrs. Tait died on Advent Sunday too, 1878. Very likely he will be buried on the 7th, which is the anniversary of her funeral. This is very remarkable and touching. I have learned to love the Archbishop as I never thought I could have done. When you know him well, he is full of goodness. May God direct all the future for His Church and the spread of His Kingdom. The struggle is strong between good and evil now.

"Ever most affectionately yours,
"E. H. WINTON."

There can be no doubt that, in spite of age and growing infirmities, Bishop Harold Browne felt a certain disappointment when he found a much younger man preferred before him. The opportunity of exercising his powers in the direction of peace, moderation, and union with other communities would have been very dear to him ; as it was, he was too good and noble of nature to feel any bitterness, or even to express much regret. He neither fretted over it nor allowed it to interfere with his regular work in the diocese. Before it was settled he writes thus to Bishop McDougall :—

"FARNHAM CASTLE, December 14th, 1882.

"It will probably be settled in a day or two; offered (I believe) either to me or to the Bishop of Truro. It would be certainly to me, but from doubt of my age and health. If it should be offered to me, do you think I ought to take it? I am on the road to seventy-two. It would relieve me of so many confirmations and so much travelling; but it would bring fresh and greater anxieties, more frequent public meetings, etc., etc., and larger correspondence (for which two secretaries would be absolutely indispensable)."

Then, on December 19th, he writes to the Bishop:—

"I hear no more of the person to whom Canterbury is to be offered. . . . If it were not for the many confirmations in the Channel Islands, I should prefer Winton to Cantuar, especially with all my friends around me; only there seemed a bright vision of hope that I might be permitted to work for the Church of God, having a *locus standi* which gives more purchase and power."

And then, again, a little later, when he knew it was not to be:—

"I thank you with all my heart for all you say of and to me, most undeserving of all such good sayings as I am. The Primacy has been so pressed on me by those not in authority, so many said it must be offered to me, and so many that it was my duty to take it, that I had nearly made up my mind that it would be so, much as I felt my want of qualifications for the post. So when Gladstone wrote to me that I was too old, I felt rather a blank. I had begun plans for mending matters, if possible, and their fall brought some disappointment. But I am thankful that God has so ordered it. I am (or at least soon shall be) too old for any great struggle, and no one knows what is impending. Benson's shoulders are broader and his strength unbroken. Fourteen years ago I was more confidently advertised and congratulated on the Primacy than I was just now. I have been spared much trouble, doubtless, in both cases.

"Ever most affectionately yours,

"E. H. WINTON."

In another letter he refers with pardonable pride to an autograph communication which at this moment he received from the Queen, by whose most gracious permission it appears in these pages.

“OSBORNE, *December 24th*, 1882.

“The Queen has been much touched by the very kind letter from the Bishop of Winchester to Lady Ely, and wishes herself to thank him for it, and for all the kind expressions towards herself which it contains. No one could more worthily have filled the position of Primate than the Bishop, and the Queen would have sincerely rejoiced to see him succeed our dear and ever-lamented Archbishop Tait. But she feels it would be wrong to ask him to enter on new and arduous duties, which now more than ever tax the health and strength of him who has to undertake them, at his age, which, as the Bishop himself says, is the same as that of our dear late friend.

“The Queen thanks the Bishop of Winchester for saying that he will give the new Primate all the support he can, which will be of inestimable value.

“She cannot conclude without offering him and his family the best wishes and blessings of the season.”

Of Mr. Gladstone's letter he gives a brief summary in a note to Bishop McDougall, dated December 22nd, 1882 :—

“On Wednesday night I got a long and very kind letter from Gladstone, saying that (referring to some qualities which my friends are too kind in seeing) if the Primacy had fallen a few years ago, I must unquestionably have been ‘ordered to accept the succession to that great See.’ Then he speaks of the ‘newness of the duties of the English, or rather Anglican or British Primacy, to a Diocesan Bishop, however able and experienced’; the precedents, viz., that no Bishop since Juxon (1660)—a very exceptional case—‘has assumed the Primacy after seventy’;

says 'how pleasant it would have been for him to have marked his respect and affection for me by making the proposal,' and adds, 'What is more important is that I am authorised by Her Majesty to state that this has been the single impediment to her conferring the honour and imposing the burden upon you of such an offer.'"

After a few days he recurs to the subject in his almost daily letter to Bishop McDougall :—

"FARNHAM, *December 29th*, 1882.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—* * * * I believe that Benson will make an excellent Archbishop. I like him very much. He is vigorous, able, modest, and warm-hearted, a strong Churchman, but with large sympathies. Gladstone was quite right to pass by an antiquity like myself for the youth and vigour of Benson. It is perhaps a little mortifying to see in all papers so much about one's advanced age and growing infirmities, when, thank God, I feel stronger and better than I have been for years. Gladstone, I learned both from himself and others, searched into all precedents, from the Commonwealth to the present day, for a Primate who began his work at seventy, and found none but Juxon. Curiously, I have been reading that he himself, prompted by Bishop Wilberforce, wanted Palmerston to appoint Sumner (of Winchester) when he was seventy-two. It was when they feared that they could not get Longley (who was sixty-eight)."

In the end his calm and unselfish judgment enabled him to say :—

"If the Primacy had been offered me the dying words of the late Primate, the urgency of the Archbishop of York and my brother Bishops and of others, might have led me to accept ; and in a year or two I might have failed. I thought that I might find the new work easier than the present, which is very heavy ; and the new stimulus might have given me fresh life. But clearly, Bishop Benson is far fitter for care and responsibility than I am, who am eighteen years older. The great kindness of the Queen's letter to me, and of every one, especially of my

brother Bishops and my diocese, ought to make me thankful and, still more, humble, as sensible of my great unworthiness."

From this time onward we can see that it was becoming for the Bishop a growing struggle against failing strength. On the one side was his love of work, and determined power of will, which drove him, often against his better judgment, to undertake exhausting duties and to fulfil even unnecessary engagements ; on the other side was the steady advance of years, the slow development of that feebleness of frame which is ever a sore trial to the active-minded man. Very soon after the Lambeth matter was over he began to think about another Suffragan in the place of Bishop Utterton.

"I am always feeling," he writes, 17th March, 1883, "that it may soon come to my resigning, or having a regular Suffragan, which would be much more expensive. My perpetual liability to cold, often turning to fever, gives warning of this. Resignation would be best for my pocket, and perhaps for myself and family ; for episcopacy is a very expensive luxury."

A little later, July 9th, 1883, he discusses the topic of a Bishop of Southampton and the Channel Islands.

"The doubts," he says, "I felt at the first moment were :

"1. Whether the Bishop of London would dislike such a proposal.

"2. Whether much additional responsibility would be thrown on me, as I am growing older.

"3. Whether, if I were to need a Suffragan, of which I have often thought, it would prevent me from getting one and yet not supply the place of one to me.

"I have still (though I have lost South London) the largest country diocese in England ; by 'country' I mean excluding London and the manufacturing districts. My population is still as large as Lincoln, which has a Suffragan and yet clamours for subdivision. I have nearly a thousand clergy. My area is from the Thames to Normandy. I

think, however, that both for the public good and for that of my own diocese I should be glad to come into the scheme, if it should approve itself to others."

The "Suffragan for the Continent" was a plan by which it was proposed, at the instance of the Anglo-Continental Society, to appoint a Bishop of Southampton, whose business it should be to watch over the Channel Islands, and the English congregations on the Continent, and also to be a link connecting the English Church with the reform movements in France and Spain. The Islands rose at once in fierce revolt. They resented bitterly any attempt to sever them, even partially, from the diocese of Winchester and from the English connexion, and thought that they were going to be handed over to a kind of Bagman Bishop who would nominally be theirs, while really he was moving from place to place on the Continent. Their opposition was so strong that the Bishop gave way before it, and the whole scheme fell through.

A little later he thinks of inviting retired Colonial Bishops to settle in the diocese, and to give him aid when needful, as, for example, in confirmation times; in this way he had for some time the help of Bishop Cramer Roberts. About the same period there was some talk of the probable resignation of one of the strongest and best of our English prelates, Bishop Fraser of Manchester. The good living of Old Alresford was likely to be vacant, and his plan was to invite the Bishop of Manchester to settle there as his helper. In this he was checked by somewhat small and narrow objections raised by one of his most trusted counsellors:—

"A., to whom I hinted it, says it would be very unpopular with Churchmen in the diocese. I doubt this, as Fraser is a very pleasant man, though unfortunately led into a party fight. He is certainly not a Low Churchman."

Still, with his marked deference for the opinions of others, the Bishop paused ; and the diocese, which has too often been unable to keep its men of ability, lost the chance of being reinforced by a really strong man. The question as to a Suffragan slumbered till 1888, when Mr. George Sumner was appointed Bishop of Guildford.

In this year, 1883, the Bishop took active part in promoting the "Children's Charter," the Bill for the Protection of Women and Children, and saw with thankfulness its passage into law. The welfare of the little ones was always very dear to him ; their childishness woke all the child-nature in him, and always secured his willing help. He was also devoted to animals, and braved the anger of the medical world this year by taking the chair at an anti-vivisection meeting for the protection of God's dumb creatures.

He, also, about this time, in 1882 and 1883, had the great pleasure of taking part in the marriages of his three clerical sons, Barrington, Thirlwall, and Robert. Barrington, whose first wife, Helen, daughter of Dr. Jackson, Bishop of London, after a brief and happy wedded life, had died of decline at Madeira, was now married to Louisa, daughter of the Bishop of Guildford, his father's trusted friend and helper. Thirlwall was married to Rose, daughter of Mr. Anderson of Waverley Abbey ; and Robert to Agnes, Lord Rollo's eldest daughter. Robert was at the time his father's chaplain, as his elder brothers had been before him ; so that the young couple spent the first seven years of their wedded life at Farnham, where three of their children were born. It was a fresh beginning of life for the affectionate old man ; his little grandchildren were ever a source of the deepest and purest delight to him.

In the autumn he took a charming holiday in the



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*The Bishop in his Study at Farnham Castle - 1890.
from a photograph by Elliott & Fry.*

Scottish Highlands, and while there wrote his well-known Congress Sermon on Antichrist, which he preached at St. Laurence's Church, Reading, in the following October. It is tinged with a sense of apprehension ; there is the gloom of one who seems to see the forces of evil gathering round the citadel of the Church, and listens intently for the signal of attack. The hindering power, which has kept Antichrist at bay, is the Holy Roman Empire in its earlier or later developments, and its principle of Roman law combined with religion. This, he urges, was "taken out of the way" by the French Revolution, with the fall of the older world ; the new world, then born, has slowly shaken itself free from the bonds of Order ; "the fabric is rapidly loosening," he says : the next century may "see the world bereft of that power of social order and of iron law tempered by Christian faith," and "a spirit growing up, silently gaining strength and ascendancy, which has well-nigh every mark of St. Paul's Man of Sin and of St. John's Antichrist" ; and so next century will see a death-struggle between the Church and the world. How this view can be reconciled with the doleful state of religion in past days, when "Law and Order" reigned supreme, is not ours to say : it may at least as well be argued that the liberties of our time are more, not less, favourable to the true advance of religion. Still, the sermon was received with great approval by all whose minds had been alarmed by the swift advances of these later days, and by changes which, as they sweep away the ancient barriers, compel new thoughts and ways of appealing to the souls and consciences of men.

Among the many letters called forth by this sermon is one from Mr. Gladstone, who was clearly much interested in the subject.

"I must now send thanks more than formal," he writes

from Downing Street, in the midst of the cares of office. "It seems to put into a practical and pastoral form the matter of a learned and careful dissertation. . . . It has, I think, much cleared my ideas, and I thank your Lordship very much for such assistance; especially in regard to your exposition of 'he that letteth.' I understand this to be in your view the strong hand of law, embodied as well as represented in the Roman Empire, on and after which was modelled the Roman State. And this State, not allowing free opinion, repressed licence as well as liberty, and prevented the profession and extension of atheism in its now multitudinous forms.

"I have no doubt we have among us an idolatry of 'Church and State'; and the idolaters, or some of them, would not scruple to say that whatever is barbarously termed 'voluntaryism,' which is making progress in the world, was Antichrist. Yet I suppose it to be incredible that Apostles who were teaching Christianity as (in this sense) a private opinion, against or in fear of the State, could have *meant* to describe as Antichrist a full and free permission by the State to teach. . . .

"[It is now, I think, over forty-five years since Manning was the first to point out to me that the Church was pushing back into the condition which it held before Constantine.

"It all shows us a vast, overpowering, and bewildering drama: but not without a key to its plan and meaning."

With this courteous and very able criticism of the sermon we may pass on. The bulk of the acknowledgments were those of friends who sympathised with the Bishop's gloomier view of things, while they also joined him in refusing to fasten on the Roman Church the stigma of being Antichrist.

It was in 1883 that England woke to the fact that she possessed a real Christian hero in General Gordon. At this time he was much drawn to our Bishop, and studied eagerly the "Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles," a book which, one might have thought, would have repelled a man of action, untrained in theology. It was exactly

the contrary. His eager, devout spirit was attracted by the piety and learning of the Bishop, and he at this time wrote him one or two interesting letters on "the first and second eating,"—that is, on the loss of God's presence at the Fall, and the recovery of it at the Holy Communion, through the sacrifice of the Cross.

"In 1881, I wrote to your Chaplain about your work on the Thirty-Nine Articles, with regard to original sin ; and then I sent your Lordship a small paper on the 'two eatings,' the first in Eden, the second in the Lord's Supper ; since which time I have thought much on these two Communions, and it was a true pleasure to me, when we both were ill from our mutual first eating, to meet you at the antidotal (if there is such a word) eating at St. Luke's, Southampton. . . . As the first eating made us partakers of Satan, so the second eating makes us partakers of Christ."

His letter ends with a very characteristic passage on the Jews :—

"It may be that some of your clergymen will be inclined to take up this view of the Jews, as typical of the wailing Christians. It is not accidental that this typical nation are so distinguished for usury, for collecting old clothes, filthy rags of righteousness. They are the same as ever they were. Mr. Friedländer came back from England, and many hundred Jews met him, hoping he had got funds for a Colony, where they would have house, etc., etc. They greeted him with the title of Messiah ! That is their view, to get back their carnal things, and then they will act even as they did before to Jehovah."

It is touching to us, seeing what is past, thus to get a glimpse into the mind of this pious mystic, whose soul was ever striving to win its way into the true presence of God, and who felt by instinct that the Bishop would understand and sympathise.

"Your writings," says Prebendary Barnes, "have led him to read 'Pearson on the Creed' and the Bishop of Lincoln's (Wordsworth's) Commentary ; and in order to study

Scripture he has lived almost as a hermit in Jerusalem or Jaffa for this year. . . . Though his ideas, as expressed to you, may seem half-incoherent, yet my long correspondence makes me sure that he has clear and coherent thought, and sees much which other men usually do not."

For the General was as one of the prophets of old time ; and men misunderstood him accordingly, or thought him mad. Inspiration carries a man beyond the bounds by which our poor finite minds measure all things, whether in heaven or earth.

Soon after this time General Gordon, called to Brussels by the King of the Belgians in order that he might head the anti-slavery campaign in Africa, returned to England. Early in the year 1884, Prebendary Barnes wrote to our Bishop to arrange that he and the General should meet before the latter started for Africa. The visit, however, never took place. Mr. Barnes's next letter describes his departure for his last heroic effort, as he set forth with noble and far-reaching aims, eager to lead the crusade against Arab slavery. For this he gladly laid down his life. The work to which his strong faith in Christian liberty thus allured him a decade ago is still undone, though there are signs on the political horizon that the ultimate struggle will not long be delayed. Once more, let us hope, England and Belgium will lead in the battle for the liberties of the children of Ham.

On February 18th, 1884, Mr. Barnes writes thus to the Bishop : "I have a telegram dated this afternoon, saying that he had been summoned to London, and adding, 'I go to the Soudan to-night : if HE goes with me, all will be well.'"

One letter only has to be added, ere we bid farewell to the most interesting and noble figure of modern English history ; it was written a year later, after the whole drama

had been played out to the end, and England's head was bowed low with sorrow and even with remorse. It is from his devoted sister, still hoping against hope:—

“5, ROCKSTONE PLACE, SOUTHAMPTON,
“*February 19th, 1885.*

“MY LORD,—Thank you sincerely for your kind letter of sympathy in this terrible trial. I cling still to the hope he may be a prisoner, but my hope is all but dead. His kindness and help to me at all times no one can know but myself, and I feel in future this must be a weary life. God alone can take away my rebellious will. He warned me from Khartoum, March 11th, to ‘remember our Lord did not promise success or peace in this life. He promised tribulation, so if things do not go well after the flesh, He still is faithful; He will do all in love and mercy to me; my part is to submit to His will, however dark it may be. Every judgment we pass is impugning His Godhead, and is paganism.’

“My brother often spoke to me of you, and would like much to have met you, as he valued your opinions; but it was not to be in this world. He longed for and truly desired to depart, and now he has his wish. He so often said, ‘I would so like to have a peep over the hedge and see this New Jerusalem.’

“A. GORDON.”

In this year, 1884, on the occasion of the three-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of his College at Cambridge, the Bishop was elected Honorary Fellow of Emmanuel, and was present at the commemoration, preaching in the College Chapel on “Sowing and Seeding.” He dealt with the fact that his College had been founded on Puritan lines, full of the force of the then rising ideas. “In those early days it seems to have attracted great numbers, for more than three hundred undergraduates at once are recorded to have studied here. Four of the translators of the Bible were Emmanuel men; during the Commonwealth it gave Heads to no fewer than eleven Colleges.” After

the Restoration, Sancroft was made master, that he might purge out the Puritan leaven, and succeeded so thoroughly that the College shrank to half its size, under the influence of High Church theology and the Tory politics of the time. The Bishop's graphic picture of the strength and weakness of Puritanism make "Sowing and Seeding" one of his happiest utterances. At the luncheon which followed next day, he touched on his ancient connexion with the College. "I came up as a boy to Emmanuel, and for fifty-six years have been one of her sons. I lived here twelve years as a Scholar, ten as a resident Professor, and ten as Bishop of Ely, in all that time enjoying the closest connexion with the College."

It was a year of commemorations. Hardly was the first over, when he came to Winchester to honour the seven-hundredth anniversary of the Mayoralty and civic constitution of the city, and at the banquet claimed for Church and clergy that they "had ever been on the side of liberty." A few weeks later, as Senior Steward, he presided over the yearly festival of the Natives' Society, which had been established in the time of Charles II. to succour the orphans of those who perished at Winchester in the Plague of 1666. He took the opportunity of disclaiming all party feelings. "I have a great horror of politics," he said, "and often wish there were no such thing in existence. . . . Party politics ruin friendships, and I have dear friends on both sides. It is not so bad now as in the days of the Reform Bill, when, at a Northamptonshire ball, the Whigs took one side of the room and the Tories the other, and a Whig lady would not dance with a Tory gentleman, or a Tory lady with a Whig."

From the Church Congress at Carlisle, where he read a paper on the "Advantages of an Established Church," and urged his hearers to pursue the noblest form of "Church

defence," the form of devotion to the cause of the gospel among the neglected masses of our fellow-countrymen, he passed into Scotland. There he was present at the most interesting anniversary of all, the centenary of the consecration of the first American Bishop, Dr. Seabury, (November 14th, 1784). The occasion appealed to his very heart. He saw in it the germ of unity among the many branches, English, Scottish, American, Colonial, of the Anglican Church. In his speech on the occasion he again urged the double duty of our Church, to be the Church of the poor and suffering, and also to be the mother of united Churches and bearer of a message of peace and fraternal love to other bodies of Christians. Looking back on this period of activity he writes:—

"Carlisle was hard work ; so was Aberdeen, at which I had to represent the English Episcopate ; for Carlisle [Harvey Goodwin] was only there one day, and I was the senior Bishop. So I had plenty of speeches to make, besides one special address. It was very interesting : five American Bishops, six Scotch (all but the good old Primus), Gibraltar and Maritzburg for the Colonies. The functions and the speaking were very interesting, the congregations and other assemblies crowded and large."

The Episcopal Church in America has great promise of the future ; it is "High" Anglican in usage, fresh and liberal in opinion ; it shews how well the Episcopal system can fit the untrammelled freedom of a republic ; it is, too, a wholesome link between the old country and the new, and a proof that establishment has nothing to do with the essence of a Church's life ; it encourages us if we are gloomy as to the future ; it helps us to bring the religion of past days into harmony with the aspirations of the new era ; it speaks successfully to an independent and self-reliant people ; and while it may well be destined to modify some of our stiffer and more traditional notions, also influences

in a really conservative spirit some of the cruder tendencies of the modern American life.

In this very busy year, which taxed all his powers so severely, the Bishop still found time to take part in many movements which, had he so been minded, he might have left on one side. One such effort, which he warmly supported, was the "White Cross League," of which Lord Mount-Temple and Canon George Butler, with his noble wife, were the chief supporters. The Bishop asked to be made President of this League, and thus shewed his sympathy with all efforts on behalf of social purity and the protection and elevation of suffering womankind. In this, it need scarcely be said, he was most warmly seconded by Mrs. Harold Browne, who has ever been a true friend and champion of her sex. At the close of the year, the Bishop suffered a very severe loss in the death of Archdeacon Jacob, who had held in his hands many of the threads of diocesan work for nearly half a century, and had grown in power and breadth of views all that time,—a man of remarkable character, humorous, affectionate, strong, who by a long life of hard work and rigid uprightness and justice had endeared himself to the whole diocese. The Bishop, writing to Bishop McDougall, thus describes the shadow of approaching death:—

"FARNHAM CASTLE, *December 10th*, 1884.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,— . . . I had plenty of work in Winchester. On Sunday I preached (necessarily rather a long sermon) to a very large congregation, and there were many communicants. After church I sat and prayed with the dear old Archdeacon [Jacob], and after the afternoon service I confirmed some boys who had been on the sick-list when I held my confirmation in the College. . . . On Monday morning I administered Holy Communion to the Archdeacon. He is very feeble ; but his pulse is firm and fairly strong, and his hands are warm. He is full of

goodness and faith as ever. I had rather a tiring day yesterday, having to go down to Southampton to consecrate Northam Church. The weather was very wet and unpleasant. This is a very heavy week, for to-morrow I have to open Kingsworthy Church; on Friday S. P. G.; two meetings at Southampton, where temperance and other novelties have shelved old societies and old work; and on Sunday I have to preach at Peper-Harow for the opening of a new organ. I generally avoid organs, if I can; but Lord Middleton is a very kind neighbour, and was Barry's patron, and I did not like to refuse. But this is a bad preparation for next week, the Ordination Examination."

Archdeacon Jacob died on December 21st, 1884; and the Bishop took his funeral at Crawley, in the midst of a crowd of old friends and parishioners.

Next year, on April 30th, Bishop Harold Browne saw the close of one of the most anxious of all his tasks. In the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster the Old Testament Revisers met that day to present copies of their completed work to the President of the Upper and the Prolocutor of the Lower Houses of Convocation. The Bishop, as chairman of the Revising Committee, gave a brief address on the course of their labours. They had begun on May 6th, 1870, sitting without a serious break for nearly fifteen years. Of the sixteen original members, only six saw the completion of the task. They had been authorised to invite the help of any, of whatever nation or religious body, who were learned in the Scriptures; they had done so with great advantage. They had hoped in vain for the aid of Cardinal Newman; but the Roman Church could not take part. Bishop Thirlwall had been their first chairman, and when he was taken away, Bishop Harold Browne had succeeded him (with exception of a period of ill-health) down to the end. He had been brought back to the work at the urgent request of the Bishop of Peterborough, in order that he

might have the chief hand in drawing up the important preface to the new version. The Bishop writes thus early in July 1884 :—

“I took the chair for the last time. We finished the preface, putting the final touch to the whole work. We gave God thanks, and I finally dismissed the company, which has worked now for fourteen years, with the blessing. I feel it a great privilege to be accepted as the Chairman of so learned a body, engaged on so great a work ; though of late I have been able to do so little of it. I think we shall come before the Church with a much more conservative dress than the New Testament company. Our work has necessarily been of a different character from theirs, and we have been less daring.”

The result of their eighty-five sessions, each of which usually lasted nine days, has been in the main a great gain. The beauty of the Authorised Version has been kept ; alterations are judicious and conservative ; the power of adverse criticism is greatly lessened. It is a formidable thing to criticise on a basis of Hebrew, in face of some of the best Hebraists in Europe ; consequently, the Old Testament Revised Version has been treated with far greater respect than fell to the share of the New Testament, of which every one who knew a little classical Greek deemed himself to be a competent judge. The Old Testament Revision is a great and valuable help towards the understanding of the Bible in English.

In this year, his tender feeling for the afflicted made him listen to the appeals of the deaf and dumb in his diocese ; and he ordained as Deacon Mr. R. A. Pearce, a deaf mute, who for some years had been a lay-agent among his afflicted brethren. The Deaf and Dumb Mission has throughout, thanks largely to the energy of Canon Mansfield Owen, been one of the most interesting and successful of the spiritual agencies of the Hampshire Diocesan Society.

The Bishop also threw himself warmly into the efforts being made for the education of what are sometimes called the middle classes : he had supported Canon Sapte's successful scheme for a boys' school at Cranleigh, and in June 1885 took the lead in the establishment of a similar school for girls at Bramley, also in Surrey. He saw the great importance of wholesome education for girls, and that it would be vain to bar the way to their eager ambition for knowledge ; in ever-swelling numbers they are finding out that there are ends in life higher than the ball-room, and that knowledge is better company than society. He aimed at so directing this eagerness, one of the most beautiful and hopeful characteristics of this age, that the gospel of Jesus Christ might not be left out of court in education. He deemed it needful for the truest and highest development of the human character.

"It is of vital consequence," he writes, "to future generations that education should be conducted on the highest principles of refinement, morality, and religion. . . . The women of a nation are its earliest and most effective teachers, and they specially need to be well taught."

And this led him also warmly to support the plans which, a little later, Mrs. Sumner laid before him for a "Mothers' Union." He drew up a circular, which was sent to every clergyman in his diocese.

"I believe the Union," he says, "to be a real help in producing a moral and religious tone in the family life of our people. Pure and Christian homes, which depend much on the mother, are the greatest strength of our nation. . . . I hope," he adds, at the time of his withdrawal from public life, "I shall never cease to remember the good work the society is doing, and to pray for a blessing upon it."

This Union, which was made diocesan only in 1887, has

spread with most amazing rapidity all over the kingdom, until now it numbers over seventy thousand members, of all ranks and classes, banded together to uphold the sanctity of marriage, to arouse in parents more sense of their duty to their children, and a greater personal zeal for purity and holiness of life. The President appeals to all mothers to help forward so good a work, and so "to make England's future better than her past." The old prelate's blessing has surely done much to strengthen and expand this wholesome attempt to encourage the Christian bringing up of our children even from the knee.

It was in this year 1885 that Bishop Harold Browne presided over the Church Congress, at Portsmouth, and gave us an account of the first beginning of Convocation, and of these yearly meetings.

"I am the only living prelate," he says, "I am one of but three or four of the clergy now living, who sat and took part in the Convocation of 1852, after its voice had been silent for a century and a quarter. I can well say, that we who then met together in small numbers at the Jerusalem Chamber rejoiced with trembling. Parliament was hostile to us; public opinion unfavourable; Church and even clerical opinion divided. By 1860, however, Convocation had nearly established its constitutional right to meet and debate. Still, there was an anxious questioning whether there ought not to be a lay element. Difficulties were in the way, perhaps happily. Then this expedient of Church Congresses was devised. We met first in King's College Hall, at Cambridge. The numbers were small; the Bishop of the diocese [Turton] too old and feeble to preside; no member of the home-episcopate was with us. My old and revered tutor at Eton, Bishop Chapman, alone represented the living Bishops. Still, the meeting was a success, and was repeated the next year at Oxford. There Bishop Wilberforce gave it his presence and encouragement, and it has since gone on growing and advancing."

He also addressed the working men at this Congress,

and showed a surprising knowledge of scientific subjects. His characteristic defence of final causes, and of a personal Providence, made much impression on his audience.

On other burning questions he kept an even mind. Though not a Home Ruler, he regarded Irish matters with sympathy and coolness of judgment, and was very unlike those wild opponents of everything Irish whose voices are heard among us. He saw the difficulties of his fellow-countrymen, and was all for remedial measures.

"Imperial affairs," he writes in 1886, "are sad indeed. I think Lord Salisbury has acted unwisely in declaring coercion for Ireland with no measure of healing. England has for five hundred and fifty years sinned so heavily against Ireland that fifty years of partial repentance cannot undo the evil. We have sown the wind and reap the whirlwind." And again: "I am not a bigoted politician. If Gladstone had proposed what I think a possible Bill, I should probably be a Home Ruler now. Even now I should probably not vote against a measure of his for Ireland."

On the exciting subject of Disestablishment he could also speak very calmly. He studied the processes by which an independent Church might organise itself so as to face the difficulty. "There is no open vision," he cries, "yet there are some very cheering symptoms;" and he points to the figures of contributions for Church purposes, then lately issued, as showing that "the people would provide for their churches and clergy, were we despoiled of our goods."

In the summer of 1887 the aged prelate took part in the Winchester festivities at the Queen's Jubilee. In a speech he then made we see again his love of the middle course, and the measure of his hopefulness for his country. Lord Tennyson's pessimist poem, he said, had been answered by the speech of an optimist Prime Minister; and "I am

inclined to take a somewhat middle line between the two." He thankfully reviews the moral and social gains of the half-century—duelling stamped out; less drunkenness, especially in the upper classes; oaths, which in 1837 had been plentiful and part of a gentleman's furniture of speech, were now rarely heard in society; less jobbery in public life; less crime and violence. Still, it could be shewn that in some other matters we were not better than our fathers. Above all, he thought the Church evidently stronger and purer than she had been in 1837.

Near the end of 1887 the Bishop was an honoured guest at the consecration of Truro Cathedral, and revisited the scenes of his clerical life at Kenwyn. Many old friends of those days welcomed him and Mrs. Harold Browne warmly, and revived sweet memories of the happy hard-working days of forty years before. We feel, however, that the thought of failing strength with growing work was on him; he let fall hints that he was willing to stand aside, though the entreaties of his many friends had stayed his hand. Then, early in 1888, the subject of the severance of West Surrey from Winchester came up again; and he told his friends that he was quite willing to withdraw, if by so doing he could clear the way for good. As to an actual subdivision of the diocese, he spoke strongly against a diocese of Southwark; he thought the Channel Island bishopric, in spite of its great unpopularity among the islanders, would be the best solution. This, however, was felt to be impossible, and the subject dropped.

The Bishop, shortly after this, was called on to deal with a matter which offered many points of interest to him. In the spring of 1888 application had been made to him in the matter of the marriage of Prince Oscar of Sweden. In February the Swedish Ambassador, Count Piper, had consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury. Prince Oscar,

deeply attached to Miss Ebba Munck, maid of honour to the Crown Princess of Sweden, was willing to give up his claim to the succession to the Swedish throne, for the sake of marrying her; and as the Queen of Sweden was wintering that year at Bournemouth, they were all most anxious that the wedding should take place there. It must, however, be solemnised after the Swedish, not the English rite, to secure the validity of the marriage in Sweden. And here the difficulty arose. The first idea was that it might take place in Holy Trinity Church, Bournemouth. This, however, was found to be illegal.

"But, if a church not consecrated, and not licensed for marriages, could be found, there would be no legal impediment. Only in this case the registrar must attend the ceremony, and it would be, according to English law, a proper civil marriage; it would also, no doubt, if performed with Swedish rites, be a proper religious marriage so far as the Church of Sweden is concerned."

Nor would any special license be needed. Now St. Stephen's, Bournemouth, was just in this position, neither consecrated nor licensed for marriages; and was, with permission of the incumbent, available. The Archbishop suggested that the assent of the Bishop of the diocese ought to be obtained. The Bishop, on being asked, at once replied, readily assenting.

"It will give me great pleasure," he writes, "to sanction the use of St. Stephen's Church, Bournemouth, for the marriage. . . . I am very glad that the legal difficulties can thus be overcome. I will communicate with the incumbent of St. Stephen's, who, I trust, will offer no objection."

Mr. Bennett, the vicar, made no difficulty about it; and the wedding took place there in due time.

The Bishop rejoiced in it, as significant of a brotherly

reunion between the Swedish and English Churches, and as a step forward in one branch of the work in which the Anglo-Continental Society was so patiently engaged. And so it was generally regarded. One High Churchman wrote to the Bishop thus :—

“Your Lordship has done much, very much, to help forward that reunion of Christians for which our blessed Lord so earnestly prayed; and I think that, supposing the Swedish orders are not precisely the same with our own and those of the rest of the Catholic Church, they, as a National Church, are far more likely to seek to obtain ‘regularity’ from friendly prelates like your Lordship—a consummation devoutly to be wished—than from those who fail to discriminate between ‘validity’ and ‘regularity.’”

The Lambeth Conference of 1888 saw a gathering of one hundred and forty-five Anglican Bishops; and Bishop Harold Browne, as the senior prelate present, had great influence over its deliberations. He was also named Chairman of two important Committees, on his favourite subjects—the one, on the relations of the Anglican Communion to Scandinavian and other reformed Episcopal bodies, and to other non-Episcopal Churches; the other, on the relations between the English and the Eastern Churches. These committees met at Farnham Castle soon afterwards. The first of these bodies heard a very interesting argument on the validity of the Moravian Episcopate. And in the Diocesan Conference at Winchester that October, the Bishop referred to the proceedings at Farnham. He told his hearers that neither Committee had touched the subject of reunion with Rome, nor had they dealt with the Ritualistic movement; and he once more protested against the Papal claim that every Bishop must be a Vicar, not of Christ, but of the See of Rome.

The gradual diminution of the Bishop's strength, and

the warnings of his physician against railway travelling, induced him to apply again to Government for permission to have a Suffragan. On the 30th of November, 1888, Archdeacon George Sumner, most unselfish and energetic of men, was consecrated as Bishop of Guildford. All were pleased; the new Bishop was much beloved, and all were thankful that the aged prelate would now be helped in his work, and might the longer be spared to rule over us. And the happy choice seemed at once to revive his strength. At a large meeting, in the following February, on behalf of the Diocesan Society, he spoke with as much life and power as he had ever shewn. No one would have thought that he had had more than one serious shock to his constitution, and that he would soon be eighty years of age.

“Every one,” says one of those present, “was glad to see the Bishop in the chair again, looking well, and proving by his admirable address that he had lost nothing of the fairness, the clear-sightedness, and sweet reasonableness by which his episcopal rule had been marked.”

And now there came a fresh call on his powers. Early in 1889 the Archbishop of Canterbury summoned him, as one of the comprovincial Bishops, to sit as assessor at the memorable trial of the saintly Bishop of Lincoln. The strange perversity of the Church Association had singled Bishop King out for a test case on ritual usages. It was as if they had been careful to select the most unfavourable case they could find. He was no mere trifler, but a devoted hard-working prelate, who loved Christ well enough to pick up the outcast in the street, and who cared little about ceremonies, so that Christ's work was faithfully done. Happily, the general feeling of Churchmen was outraged by this attempt to punish a man who had in him so much of his Master's spirit.

The trial was a triumph for the Primate's sagacity and power ; yet at the outset our Bishop was full of anxieties. The Archbishop was claiming to sit in judgment on one of his comprovincial Bishops, who, in Bishop Harold Browne's eyes, was, within his own diocese, of equal authority with the Primate ; he feared an attack on the episcopal authority. Yet he felt that here was a purely ecclesiastical tribunal, to which the accused could conscientiously submit ; this court might solve many of the difficulties which clustered round this and similar cases of semi-legal, semi-ecclesiastical dispute. He doubted whether the Primate could have safely summoned any other tribunal ; he thinks that all Churchmen should loyally accept its decisions. So he took his seat under a deep sense of responsibility, which shewed itself in his bearing.

"Harold Browne's face," says an eye-witness, "was full of solemn, earnest, eager sympathy ; he was reverent and anxious, and apparently keenly sensitive to the occasion, and overwhelmed with its magnitude and import."

He said himself that "the issue of this trial was of less importance than the permanent relation of the Archbishop to the Church," a point on which he was ever sensitive.

Before the trial was over his health compelled him to withdraw, and the Archbishop summoned to fill his place the able prelate destined ere long to succeed him also at Winchester, Dr. Thorold, then Bishop of Rochester.

He has left, in a reply to Canon Lucas and others, who had presented an address to him, the substance of his views on the subject.

"I consented to act with the Archbishop," he writes, "in the beginning of the whole affair. I was not, indeed, allowed a voice in the judgment which he has given as to the constitution of the Court ; but I had an opportunity of expressing to him my opinion as to some of his argu-

ments, before he delivered the judgment. . . . Since that, illness obliged me to decline to act as an assessor in future. I am not sure that the Archbishop is quite happy at all this action and cessation to act on my part. I think, therefore, it is my duty to be very guarded in what I now do or say. . . .

"I think all this is reason why I should not take any steps or give any counsel until the address is presented to me. I shall then feel at liberty to reply ; but I should not wish it to be known that I was even consulted."

And then, after receiving the address, he replies as follows. It will be seen that he wrote a private letter to his friend Canon Lucas, and also enclosed with it a full statement of his own views on the subject.

"FARNHAM CASTLE, *Feb. 8th*, 1890.

"MY DEAR CANON LUCAS,—May I send you the enclosed as an answer to yourself and others about the Court of the Archbishop? I am satisfied that there was no such Court in primitive times—none strictly analogous to it in mediæval times ; but it was the policy of the Tudor princes and others after them to play off the Archbishop against the Pope on the one hand, and against the Bishops and clergy on the other ; and I am satisfied that the Court now summoned by the Archbishop is a Court acknowledged by this Church and realm since the time of the Revolution. . . ."

With this came his formal answer to the signatories of the address :—

"FARNHAM CASTLE, *Feb. 8th*, 1890.

"MY DEAR CANON LUCAS,—I have received through you an address from a large number of the clergy of this diocese expressing great anxiety in consequence of the decision of the Archbishop of Canterbury to try the case of the Bishop of Lincoln in a Court presided over by himself with the aid of assessors only. I do not think I can enter fully into this very important question ; but I should like to say, first of all, that I doubt if the Archbishop could, in the present state of the law, have

summoned any other tribunal. The only clear precedents of the last three hundred and fifty years have been those of *Lucy v. the Bishop of St. David's* and the cases subsequent to that, which were dealt with on the same principles. The proceedings of Archbishop Tenison in the case of Bishop Watson of St. David's were sanctioned and confirmed by all the Courts, civil and ecclesiastical, and they have formed a precedent from that time to this.

"Our own Archbishop at first declined to proceed, doubting whether he had any jurisdiction; but the Privy Council decided that he had jurisdiction, and that he must proceed.

"Had he devised any other Court, it is very doubtful whether he would have satisfied the requirements of the law. Since the thirteenth century we have had no Provincial Synod but Convocation, which, not consisting only of Bishops, would not be a Court for trying Bishops according to either primitive or mediæval practice or precedent. A Court consisting only of Bishops would have corresponded with primitive practice; but I fear that it would have wanted authority from Anglican usage, and would probably not have been accepted as constitutional. The Court which has been summoned has at all events these advantages. It is a purely spiritual Court, yet it cannot but be recognised by the civil power. It is composed of elements to which no reasonable man can take exception; and the members are able, thoughtful, learned, and evenly balanced in religious opinions.

"There can be no doubt that the Archbishop is actuated by an earnest desire to act fairly towards all parties, and, if possible, to still the angry passions which are threatening not only to turn the Church militant into a Church litigant, but to bury all Church life and work in a confused chaos of malice and ungodliness.

"It is therefore surely our duty to pray earnestly and constantly for guidance and blessing on the Court, now that no other Court is possible, or could have been in the present instance devised.

"Notwithstanding the very able arguments of the Archbishop, I may say, with the utmost respect, that I am unable to follow His Grace in the opinion that the Court of a Metropolitan other than the Synod of the Province, or a body of Bishops presided over by but independent of all control from the Metropolitan, was legal or possible in the

early ages of the Church. I agree with you also in holding that the primitive practice should always rule the proceedings of the Church of England. Though I think this tribunal now sitting should be accepted and loyally obeyed by all Churchmen in this present distress, yet I concur in the opinion expressed by the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission in 1883, that 'in the early Christian Church are to be found both principles and precedent for a provision that such charges and complaints should be tried by a tribunal of comprovincial Bishops.'

"I hope that hereafter this opinion of the Commissioners, which exactly coincides with that expressed by the successive Lambeth Conferences of 1867 and 1878, will one day be embodied in a law, which will clear up all difficulties in the way of the constitutional and satisfactory trial of Bishops.

"I am, my dear Canon Lucas,

"Ever most truly yours,

"E. H. WINTON.

"REV. CANON LUCAS."

And with this we may leave the subject of this famous trial, as it no farther affected our Bishop's life.

It was while judgment in it had not yet been given that he had one more opportunity of shewing how deeply he sympathised with all efforts to bring the Church and the people into harmony together, at the consecration of the new St. Mary's at Portsea. Thanks to the wise energy and power of Canon Jacob, and the munificence of Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., that fine building was ready for consecration in October 1889. It is a noble structure, which can easily hold two thousand worshippers, and is equally well adapted for prayer, or praise, or teaching.

In the following year took place a scene which can never be forgotten by any of those who were present. The aged Bishop, still making brave front against growing infirmities, completed the fiftieth year of his married life, and celebrated his golden wedding on Waterloo Day, 1890. The whole diocese, knowing well that we should not have

him long, eagerly seized on this opportunity of bearing witness to the deep affection and respect felt for him. With the proceeds of a general subscription a goblet duly inscribed, an illuminated address, and a purse with the balance, £727, were presented to the Bishop on July 15th, 1890. The day should have been June 18th, but an attack of illness had put off the reception. When we met him he was so far restored that he met the large crowd of friends, and made them a long speech of singular vigour and clearness. He spoke pleasantly on the old topic of a celibate or a married clergy ; glanced at the connection of St. Swithun (it was his day) with Farnham and Winchester, claiming him as builder of the original Castle ; he also paid a passing tribute to William of Wykeham. On the same day he received an affectionate address from his old friends of the Anglo-Continental Society. Her Majesty was pleased to send him a message, received with deep emotion by the aged and loyal prelate—

“ Pray accept, as well as Mrs. Harold Browne, my best wishes for this eventful day, and for your health and happiness. V.R.”

Among other incidents of the day was the tea-party given to the old people of Farnham, at which he said a few words with a pleasing and gentle note of sadness in them, on the fifty years of his happy wedded life :—

“ You may have thought,” he said, “ that my dear wife and I have had no troubles, while you have been struggling hard for existence. It is not so : during the first seventeen or eighteen years of our married life we had sorrow after sorrow. Child after child whom we loved was taken from us. After that, we have had the great blessing of seeing our children grow up in health and strength ; ‘ we have seen our children’s children and peace upon Israel.’ ”

The sum presented to the Bishop was dedicated, as

people generally thought it might be, to the Deaconess' Home at Portsmouth, for the erection of a Refectory, with rooms for a chaplain and others, as well as dormitories. The block was to be called "the Harold Browne Building," to perpetuate the honoured name. For the good Deaconesses occupied much of his thoughts to the end. In the Church Congress of 1890 he moved two resolutions on Sisterhoods and Deaconesses; and in his farewell address, a little later, at the Diocesan Conference, he once more spoke very warmly in their favour, expressing great regret that deaconesses had been in both west and east gradually superseded by sisterhoods. One of his last prayers to his friends was that they would not let this primitive institution fall into neglect.

After the strain of the golden wedding receptions and festivities the Bishop withdrew for a while, and spent a tranquil month at Blackmore Vicarage, near Petersfield, where he had the privilege of frequent visits from his old and valued friend, Lord Selborne, with whom he held long talks on many subjects of common interest both in Church and State, and rested tranquilly before the final leave-taking.

CHAPTER V.

RESIGNATION AND DEATH.

WHILE the Bishop of Winchester, at his golden wedding, was speaking at considerable length, I noticed, that, almost in front of him, a gentleman was watching him with much interest and some anxiety. Struck by his look, I inquired who it was, and learnt that it was the physician in charge of the Bishop's health. I therefore took the opportunity, a little later, of introducing myself to him, and said that no doubt he had felt somewhat relieved when the whole ceremony and speech were over. "Yes," he replied, "I well might be, for his Lordship might have fallen down dead at any moment." The whole machinery of his tall frame was completely worn out, and the heart's sound action could no longer be depended on.

He had long been lamenting the gradual loss of his more active powers. "I don't feel," he writes from Buxton in 1875, "as if I have much more work in me." And in 1880, "Sloman somewhat encouraged serious reflexions, as he looked very grave, and spoke of an escape from serious consequences. Of course, I should never be surprised at things going wrong with me, when I want but four months of seventy; and if I had all the faith I desire, I should feel no great wish to live on too long, if it were not for those around me, whom I fear I love too well."

A little later he complained of gouty troubles; and in January 1883 he suffered from a sharp attack of fever, which much weakened him, and made him say, "These things tell us plainly enough that the veil is thin between time and eternity."

And yet, when Sir Andrew Clark examined him carefully in the summer of 1884 he ended by declaring that he knew but one man of his years with so sound a constitution. "I cannot see," he said, "the chink through which his soul will escape." The other man was Mr. Gladstone.

In 1885, while spending November at the "Eagle Tower," Southsea, the Bishop was troubled with much bleeding at the nose, and was ordered to keep perfectly quiet, and to do nothing for three months. "I must either," he says, "think of resignation or of handing over a considerable share of my work to a stronger man." Then it was that he was much distressed by "Winton's" strong remarks on the neglected state of the diocese; and his son, Mr. Barrington G. Browne, wrote in reply:—

"In the thirty-two years during which he has been a Bishop he has given himself very little holiday, and only when much needed for his health, as all who know him best can testify. Several times he has taken no holiday for a whole year."

The correspondence resulted in a warm and spontaneous movement of indignation, which took the form of an address from about six hundred of his clergy. Still it was clear that his bodily powers were slowly failing. One illness after another shook him. In June 1886 he could not address his candidates for Orders; in Scotland, three months later, he was laid up at Edinburgh. We see something of the struggle in a letter from Dr. Burton, whom he ordained in 1888.

"I shall never forget that day, the quiet church at Farnham, and the good Bishop, so ill that he could hardly kneel throughout the length of the service: from the constant moving of his feet and legs you could see that it was pain to him; and yet I shall never forget the interview with him in his study when all was over; his calling for the Greek Testament he had given me, and the legend, *ταῦτα μελέτω ἐν τούτοις ἴσθι*.

And in a letter to Dr. Burton he touches on one of his health difficulties. If he went to the Highlands, which suited him best, Mrs. Harold Browne ran a serious risk, being liable to throat-troubles in damp air; whereas if he followed her to the climates which suited her, he was very liable to be the worse for it.

"I came here," he says, "for Mrs. Harold Browne's health. The sea is about death to me: I bear it better at Bournemouth than elsewhere."

The zealous help ungrudgingly given by the Bishop of Guildford carried him on for a time; yet we all saw that the end could not be very far off; and at his golden wedding day, no one would have been surprised had he announced his resignation of the See. A month after that day he took the requisite steps, and in the diocesan Conference in the October following made public reference to it. He then reviewed the work done during his episcopate; a list of practical matters. He names the Girls' Friendly Society, the Mothers' Union, the Great Town's Mission at Portsea, the Young Men's Friendly Society, the Guild of St. George, the efforts on behalf of St. Thomas' Home, the establishment of Connaught House for neglected girls, the "Watchers and Workers," the Aldershot Ladies' Society. The emotion of the Conference and the speeches which followed the announcement shewed the Bishop how warm was the feeling throughout the diocese. It brought

out the touching and simple humility of his character. Writing soon after to the Dean he says:—

“Especially I want to tell you how deeply I was touched by your words concerning myself at the Conference. I could bear the others, for I am not conscious of any intentional neglect of duty to my diocese, or of kindness to my friends. God has helped me so far. But you attributed to me faithfulness not to man only, but to my great Master, and I could feel only ashamed and confounded, when my conscience told me how I had neglected His calling, been deaf (how often!) to His teachings, and especially had been ungrateful for His love. You did not mean to abash me, and I am very grateful for your friendship.”

Very soon after this, on October 11th, 1890, the newspapers announced that Dr. Thorold, Bishop of Rochester, was to be his successor. The knowledge that an active prelate, of well-tryed experience in every branch of Church work, skilled in the organisation of a diocese, moderate and tolerant, and a man of real depth of spiritual life, would take his place, must have been a real comfort to the aged Bishop as he laid down the burden he had borne so long. And yet his heart was full of longings and regrets. Nothing but a high sense of duty would have made him resign the crozier, and pass away to a quiet life.

“I am expecting,” he writes on November 24th, 1890, “to be transplanted from this place, in which I had taken deep root, in little less than a fortnight. I can work no more for my flock. I trust I may still be able to pray. I do not believe in ‘well-earned retirement.’ I would work on, if I could.”

The last and most fitting public act of the Bishop was the Ordination in Winchester Cathedral, on St. Thomas’ Day, 1890. Next day, at Canon Warburton’s house in the Close, he received two farewell addresses from his clergy,

and in spite of manifest feebleness, responded briefly, and so humbly and touchingly that tears were not far from the eyes of all who heard him.

Other tokens of regret and affection were not wanting ; one of these was especially grateful to him, as indeed it well might be, for it indicated the way in which he was regarded by the very highest in the realm. Her Majesty the Queen was graciously pleased to mark her kind feeling towards the aged Prelate of her Order of the Garter, by sending to him a beautiful reproduction of the jewel he, as Prelate, had worn on all important occasions. On March 27th, 1891, he acknowledged this gracious token of Her Majesty's favour in these terms :—

“Bishop Harold Browne presents his dutiful respects to your Majesty, and desires to express his most grateful acknowledgment of your Majesty's most kind and thoughtful remembrance of him in his retirement in sending him the beautiful jewel of the Garter, in imitation of that formerly worn by him as Prelate of the Order, and in permitting and commanding him to wear it.

“He can only assure your Majesty that he values it most highly, and that he will ever prize it so long as he lives, in memory of the illustrious Sovereign whom he has been permitted to serve and love, and who never forgets to do acts of kindness and speak words of sympathy to all who need them.”

To this Her Majesty was pleased to send a reply in her own handwriting, the grace and kindness of which is very touching :—

“BALMORAL CASTLE.

“The Queen thanks Bishop Harold Browne very much for his extremely kind letter, and rejoices to hear that he is pleased with the little souvenir she has sent him of the office he held as Prelate of the Order of the Garter. The Queen much regrets that his health no longer permitted

his remaining at Winchester, but she hopes that the rest and quiet he so much needed have been beneficial to him.

"The Bishop will have grieved at the untoward illness of the Bishop of Rochester, which obliges him to abstain from all work for so long a time."

Many other leave-takings sweetened and made more touching the farewell to the diocese. Perhaps none was more pleasing to the Bishop than the gift of a beautiful set of silver furnishings for a writing-table from the inhabitants of Farnham, among whom he had lived so long and happily.

At last, the bitter-sweet of parting over, the venerable prelate took possession of his new home, Shales, near Bitterne, a pleasant country-house a few miles out of Southampton. Here in comfort and quiet, among the pleasant woods which clothe the gravel-hills, and on a delightful rising ground, whence, on clear days, he had a distant view of Winchester, the last year of the Bishop's long and active life was spent. Here from time to time he saw one or another of his old friends, and occupied himself with books and letters, and enjoyed the constant presence of his beloved wife and daughter, and also of his aged sister, who accompanied him thither from Farnham.

It was not till June 17th, 1891, a month after the Bishop reached Shales, that the Bishopric of Winchester was formally declared vacant, and the arrangements for the succession of Bishop Thorold to the See could be begun. A little later again, on February 3rd, Convocation met as usual at Westminster, and all felt the silent eloquence of the vacant chair on the left hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which had been so long and so well filled by the late Bishop of Winchester. The Upper

House paused a moment to bid farewell to the venerable prelate. The Bishop of London moved a resolution in a fine speech, filled with a deep sense of the beauty and loveliness of his character. The resolution ran thus :—

“That this House desires to record its sense of the great loss sustained not only by the House but by the whole Church in the resignation of the Bishop of Winchester, whose great learning, devout spirit, wise counsels, invariable courtesy and gentleness, have endeared him to all who knew him, and caused his episcopate to make a permanent impression upon the Church at large.”

And very happy are the words with which Bishop Temple closed his speech :—

“He always gave the impression of a man who was full to overflowing of gentleness and love, ready to accept all, and ready to bestow on all the tenderness of his own nature. And to that should be added the impression that he constantly made on all who held converse with him, that his was a spirit more than ordinarily devout, that he was one who lived in prayer, one to whom the thought of his Saviour and his God was ever present, one who to me seemed more nearly to approach the character of a great saint than almost any other man.”

The resolution was seconded in an admirable speech by Bishop Thorold, his successor in the See of Winchester, and he too dwelt on his indomitable love of work, his affectionate, sympathetic character, deep learning, innate modesty and gentleness of bearing ; he emphasised also his singular dignity and high breeding. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, his old fellow-worker, followed next, and finally came the Bishop of Oxford, who seemed to say the truest thing of all.

“He was a man in whose presence it was impossible to say an ill-natured thing of any one. From him there was a sort of effluence of kindness and goodness, taken in conjunction with his great learning, most accurate, careful, and

loving judgment, which made one feel, every time he had any talk or intercourse even by letter with him, how great and good a man he was."

With these words our Bishop's public career came to an end, and the greater world saw him no more. For a year, almost to a day, he lived in "tranquil calm decay," like Keble's November leaves, at Shales, tended by the loving and unwearied care of those around him. The Bishop was able for awhile to walk hither and thither about his grounds, interesting himself in their beauty, and standing often to gaze northward to the point where Winchester lay between her sheltering hills. Over all brooded a sense of peace and thankfulness. Those who loved him were grateful for this time of still relief, and ministered to his wants with watchful affection. From time to time one or another of his sons would come and visit him for a while, cheering him greatly, even by the sight of them; Mr. Thirlwall Gore Browne, Rector of Farnham, was within easy reach, and could frequently go over on his bicycle to spend an hour at Shales, and renew the freshness of his love and gratitude to a father so wise, so consistent, so affectionate. A few letters to be written every day, some favourite book to read again, to listen to the faint echoes of a distant world—here were his occupations and amusements; and, beneath all, as the fit foundation of his life, lay the daily, hourly communing with his Heavenly Master, the daily offering of prayer and thanksgiving to the Saviour whom he had loved and served throughout his lengthened life. So peaceful, so dignified an old age comes to the lot of few; so well-deserved a time of peace is rarely won; an end free from suffering, save from the weariness of failing powers, was the fitting and merciful close to that long and honoured life.

For all this—the loss of life-worn dignities, the absence of

interesting and sometimes all-engrossing work, the consciousness that his voice could no longer be raised on high for the gospel and the Church,—these things were still a trial to the aged Bishop, and threw a sadness over these last months. One day, the first time that I had been able to visit him after his retirement, he talked to me with all his old interest and graceful urbanity, as he shewed me his new home. Presently he carried me into his library ; there I made some commonplace remark about his old friends the books, which never grew weary of him or left him. To this, with a sad resigned smile, he replied that he spent many hours in that room among them, *laboriose nihil agendo*, as he added with a sigh. For the spirit of active work was still strong in him, and he never was reconciled to the stern necessity which had bidden him withdraw from it. On another occasion, after I had sent him a copy of a book on the Cathedral Screen, he wrote :—

“Once *my* Cathedral Church,—alas ! no longer mine. I no longer belong to it, except that I must still be on the bede-roll of its Bishops, from Birinus through Swithun, Wykeham, Andrewes, and Morley, the patron of Ken. Though I am buried, I am alive enough to be sensible of the privilege of having my unworthy name written for all time in that illustrious roll.”

Just a month before his death in December, 1891, he had written a few words to Bishop Maclagan, on his translation to the Archbishopric of York ; and in reply to the Archbishop's acknowledgment, he sent him the following, which was one of the very last letters that he wrote :—

“SHALES, NEAR BITTERNE, HANTS,

“November 20th, 1891.

“MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,—You did write and most kindly in answer to my letter hailing your appointment to the Archbishopric. Your letter just received is only

the more welcome to me, though a work of supererogation in you. I can well understand the heavy burden of your twofold, or rather manifold, work. I pray that you may be more and more supplied with the strength which only can sustain human weakness.

“The reports about my health to which you kindly refer have been very busy of late. Three months ago I had a third paralytic attack, which confined me to bed for a fortnight or so. By God’s mercy I have gradually recovered a good deal of strength, and can move in a bath chair about my garden, and sometimes walk two or three hundred yards. Of course, I feel that at any time I may be called to meet my God, who is happily my Saviour too. But at my age I might expect this without warnings, though my sister still lives at ninety-four, clear in mind as beautiful in soul and body, though apparently just passing through the dark valley to, I trust, a bright and blessed awakening beyond. All this about myself you will forgive, as you asked for it. You asked my prayers too, which you always have. I should be very thankful for a corner in yours. Few men need them more than those who have had so long a life, so responsible an office, and so much of sin and infirmity to deplore.

“My wife joins me in very kind regards.

“Always, very affectionately yours,

“HAROLD BROWNE, Bishop.”

It was about this time that, worn out by the three successive seizures, he wrote the following letter to a friend: “I have been very feeble lately, but now manage to get round my garden in a bath chair, hoping that I may yet be so far restored as to reach church again.” This wish, born of his longing once more to taste the joy of an English Church service, was never granted. Instead of it came that far better and higher call to the Church of God in Paradise. Without suffering, in simple confidence on his Redeemer’s love, he yielded up his soul in the early morning of December 18th, 1891. His sister, his life’s comrade and friend, survived him but nine days, and passed peacefully away in her ninety-fifth year. They lie

side by side in the cemetery of Westend parish, awaiting the Great Day. Even more than the pair whom David sang, this brother and sister "were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided."

As the glooms of night rise on us, we turn our faces westward, to watch the last message of the day. There, in the subtle changes of form and colour, in the silence of sundown, we seem to see well-known figures passing through the golden light into another clime, in which God's waiting saints are at rest. We have had a glimpse of the light from heaven's gate ; and, sorrowful yet rejoicing, can discern that our faces have caught something of the glow, dimly reflecting the brightness of a good man's life.

Thus passed away the eighty-third in the direct succession of the Bishops of Wessex and Winchester. We may never know how far the Church owes her safe passage through more than one serious crisis to Bishop Harold Browne's wise and temperate counsels and example. True, he was no party-leader, and, as the *Times* newspaper wrote, "lent his name to no heroic measures, and recognised no short cut to a spiritual Millennium," and consequently his episcopate lacked "prominent or emphatic features" ; still, he was a happy link between parties, not least, though he knew it not, between the vigorous and advancing section of High Churchmen and the more thoughtful and earnest of the Broad. His keen feeling about social wrongs made him an unconscious ally of the modern school of Church thought ; the dislike of badges, the refusal to crush out opinions he did not like, made him the forerunner of that coalition of Church parties which seems to mark our day. He felt, as we feel, that in face of a thousand social and religious problems, Christians have no call to quarrel. If the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the true evangelic message, does ever touch the labouring world of our day, it will partly

be due to Harold Browne's sympathies : his love for justice and right was stronger than either his creed or his scheme of Church order. One of the newspapers said, at the time of his death, that the Church of England was losing one of those men who are almost peculiar to her communion. Though his political leanings were mainly conservative, he never shewed any partisanship, save when he thought "the Church in danger." He never said, as many did, that in a clergyman conservative politics alone could be respectable. In a word, as one of the journals phrased it, "he was highly valued by all parties in the Church who deprecated the falsehood of extremes," and who, we may add, also shrank from the driving-power of enthusiasm and strong convictions.

"He was for many the exemplary instance of the 'safe' ecclesiastic. His mind was essentially contemplative, satisfied with calm and dispassionate reasoning, and willing to hear both sides of a question."

Perhaps he hardly recognised the deep truth in wise Verulam's saying that "there is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion"; for he loved to have all things to fit in with his clear-cut theory of the English Church, and shrank from any divergence from it, to the right hand or the left.

Yet there was nothing of indifference about him.

"There is a danger," he writes, "that the English Church should die of respectability. I confess to having a lingering love for respectability. I should choose for myself a gentleman-clergy, sober and solemn yet warm and hearty services, and sermons full of thought and wisdom, though earnest and home-thrusting and spirit-stirring. But we want mission-work of all kinds in our towns and alleys, on our heaths and hills. Mission chapels, open-air services suited to untrained tastes, sermons that tell on the feelings without offending the intellect; above all, the enlisting

of a much larger army of workers from every class, rich and poor, high, middle, and low, to work as subdeacons, lay readers, district visitors, deaconesses, mission-women. There is nothing in the National Church unfavourable to all this, though there may be in the prejudices of her members."

What could be fairer? The pressing problems of the faith of the masses of our people, and the best ways of influencing them, were rarely out of his thoughts. He describes his relations with the three chief Church parties in his opening address at the Diocesan Conference of 1889, when he said :—

"I have lived a long life, and have seen and known leaders of all these parties. In my youth it was my privilege to know Simeon, a leader of one section at that time ; I knew Keble, who led another section ; and I knew F. D. Maurice ; and I can say that I agreed in the main points with every one of these great and good men, and honoured and loved them. . . . I could heartily subscribe to the chief tenet of Simeon's school, that Christ is the only way of salvation, and that no creature, earthly or heavenly, can intervene between the soul of the sinner and his Saviour. I can subscribe to Keble's faith in the assured presence of Christ in His Sacraments, the communion of the individual with his Saviour, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and the Communion of Saints. I can join heartily in the teaching of Maurice that the Eternal Father regards with all-embracing love those He has created and redeemed. Nay, I doubt not, in the Kingdom of our Father we shall see each of these men, unless indeed (as Whitfield said of Wesley) they are too near the eternal brightness for us to be able to discern them."

And a month later, referring to some controversy which had sprung up on these noble words, he says :—

"The assertion that I am a High Sacerdotalist is absolutely untrue. I am quite as much an Evangelical as I am a High Churchman. . . . I can find no party name by which to call myself."

In these manly utterances he never speaks of himself as touched with Broad Church qualities, though they were in him just as much as the others. He kept them back through fear of those extremer utterances which had alarmed him in earlier life.

His eminent fairness of mind led his friends to put implicit confidence in him. It is very striking to read among his letters one from Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr. Disraeli, asking him to suggest a vicar for Hughenden parish.

"'Tis a vicarage approaching £400 a year, with the prettiest house in the world in the park. The duties are ample without being excessive. He must be a gentleman, accustomed to country life, and married. If his Church views resemble your Lordship's, they will represent mine : *pace* the Record."

At another time he asked the Bishop to send him a list of a dozen names of Cambridge men fit for bishoprics, deaneries, canonries ; again, he consulted him as to Welsh Bishops, saying :—

"I am examining anxiously the question whether I can find a Welshman proper, who, being not greatly deficient in other requisites of a Bishop, would have that most essential one, an access to the hearts of the people through the free and effective use for pastoral purposes of their own tongue."

And it is interesting to note that a little later, in 1876, Mr. Gladstone also wrote to him, craving his advice and assistance in the matter of the appointment to another Welsh bishopric ; so that both heads of parties trusted to him alike, and looked to him for sound advice.

In literary matters, also, many appealed to him for help or information. He was a frequent referee for the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and often gave

them sound advice ; though the task sometimes puzzled him. In criticising some book submitted to him he writes :—" It is difficult to get really able writers to contribute to the Society's publications, if their hands are too much tied. The unutterable dulness of past times almost ruined the Society." On one occasion Mr. Gladstone asked him to read the proofs of an Article in reply to Réville, who had accused the Prime Minister of believing in a primitive revelation. " You will tell me," he writes, " whether in this portion of my subject I commit myself egregiously to any thing false or foolish." In which we can admire equally the modesty of the great man and his absolute confidence in the Bishop's honesty and fearlessness of judgment.

Though the Bishop's funeral in the bare new cemetery of Westend parish was kept very quiet, those who were there on that bright winter's day felt that one of the best of men had passed away. The ceremony shewed the same beautiful union of true dignity with simplicity which had marked the Bishop's character throughout. "*Ἀνδρασιν ἐπιφανοῖς πᾶσα γῆ τάφος*:" and though one might have wished to treasure our much-loved Bishop's remains under the shadow of the Cathedral Church over which he had ruled so well, still it was not amiss that he should make his grave among his people, and lie at rest beneath the open vault of heaven.

And as we watched the sad group round the grave, there came the thought that this was truly a happy man, whose greatness and dignity might pass away, while his essential goodness was enshrined for ever in the hearts of that family circle devoted to him in life or death. Never was any man endowed with more beautiful natural gifts and qualities ; never did the grace of God and the love of the Saviour do more to heighten and give free play to those natural qualities. " The greatest of these is charity," the greatest

and most lasting ; and this was true of him throughout. As an old friend said of him, " I cordially agree with you as to the marvellous attraction of the Bishop's character, which seems to have resulted from his intense and universal love of all mankind, combined with the spotlessness of his moral character." Great was his indifference to wealth ; he had no happiness so great as that of ministering to the wants of those who depended on him, or indeed of any who made suit to him. He was the friend and champion of the weak and down-trodden ; a warm lover of children, and one who did his best for their protection ; they seemed to him to be the special charge laid by Christ on His stronger servants. He was also devoted to animals, and they to him. There is a delightful letter from him to Mrs. Josephine Butler, written on the occasion of the death of a favourite dog belonging to the Canon her husband ; for he entered with all his heart into the friendships between man and beast. He used to say that the fidelity, the gleams of a moral sense, the power of amendment and improvement, and the gift of being able to look up to a master and take orders obediently from him, all indicated possibilities of a future life in the dog-world. And he told with great interest and sympathy the story of one of his own dogs which, as he used to say, became " a converted character." It was a creature of bad disposition, with many evil tricks and ways. This animal was nursed by an old servant of the house through a bad illness with the utmost care and affection ; and when the creature recovered, it was found, to the surprise of all, to have " turned over a new leaf " ; it had become perfectly sweet-tempered, had forgotten or laid aside all tiresome tricks and ways, and was, as they said, " altogether another dog." After the animal's death, the servant who had been so kind to it seemed inconsolable, and Mrs. Harold Browne, by way of cheering her, said to

her, "But, you know, the Bishop thinks there may be another life for animals as well as for men, so that perhaps you will see him again"; and the poor woman, with tears in her eyes, replied, "I knew it, ma'am, I did; but I didn't think it was right to say so; but now if the Bishop thinks so too, I know it is all right with the poor beast." And Mr. Carlyon tells a charming story about the Bishop's tenderness of heart:—

"Coming out of church at Thorney Abbey after a confirmation, I was immediately behind the Bishop, as his Chaplain, in a surpliced procession of clergy, when a sudden halt brought us all to a standstill. It was only that the Bishop saw an earthworm crossing the path, and in fear of its being trampled under foot, stooped down, picked it up, and laid it tenderly on the grass beside the path;"

and not till this had been done could the astonished procession move on again.

It need hardly be said after this, that the Bishop, with his excellent power of conversation, drawn from a thousand varied sources, his invariable courtesy, and gentleness, and high breeding, was an eminently "clubbable" man; and when he had the leisure for it, enjoyed to the full the social pleasures of club-life. He was a member of "Nobody's Club," a very select body, originally founded by William Stevens in 1800. It was a gathering of friends, who met to dine together thrice a year, in order to support "the principles of Religion and Polity which guided the Founder's conduct in times of spiritual apathy and lukewarmness, and of public restlessness and anarchy." This club was in fact a form of reaction against those movements, which sprang out of the enlargement of the world's eyesight by the French Revolution. The Bishop's warnings as to the too rapid advances of his day, his fears for the stability of institutions, his despondent

views as to the religious and political outlook, were doubtless in part due to the influences of this club. He was also a member of the Athenæum, which he visited from time to time. A sarcastic onlooker speaking of him there says :—

“ Nothing ever gave me so vivid an impression of the power and beauty of Christianity in moulding life and conduct, as the sight of Bishop Harold Browne at the Athenæum, ‘ a light shining in a dark place.’ ”

Surely, rather hard on that distinguished literary body !

This taste for club life was in the Bishop compatible with the simplest and sweetest home life.

“ I always felt,” writes one of the distinguished daughters of the late Bishop of Carlisle, “ that the Bishop’s wonderfully happy marriage had much to do with making him the man he was. I began to know and love Mrs. Browne when I was five years old, and have always had the same feeling about her. The Bishop was naturally rather delicate, and always worked up to the very extreme of his strength, and did not naturally take a very rose-coloured view of things ; but Mrs. Browne always made sunshine wherever she was. I have often seen him come home so weary and fagged, and look quite dejected ; and then her lovely thoughtful sunny nature just brought him into her sunshine. She *always* took a hopeful view of things, and by entering into his work, not professionally, so to speak (as is rather the plan now), but just from her sweet wifely sympathy, constantly smoothed rough places for him. No one who has stayed for weeks together with them, as I have done, can forget the picture of domestic peace and concord hallowed by love. And then her spirit of fun was so exactly what he needed. When we were children, in the Cambridge days, he would take part, as well as his wife, in the games that went on in the evenings, even to his latter days ; and I have always felt that, great and beloved as he was, he would not have been anything like the *complete* man that he was had it not been for her. He acknowledged this. Every intonation of his voice shewed

his loving appreciation and tender feeling for his wife; and I remember, in one of his parting speeches at leaving Ely, he was so moved as he finished by letting his hand just rest on his wife's—"I can only say my greatest help has always been at home:" and every one knew he was speaking just the truth."

And this purity of affection, this crown of Christian charity, made itself felt far and wide; all his friends, even his merest acquaintances, confessed the charm of it, and knew that here was a true and transparent rendering of the Divine influences of the Gospel. What could be better than the following letter to Archdeacon Jacob, who was a very zealous total abstainer, a man of strong convictions, with a plentiful courage to support them?

"FARNHAM CASTLE, Oct. 28th, 1883.

"MY DEAR ARCHDEACON,—I must write one line to-day, though I said something about it yesterday. I have thought much of you on this your eightieth birthday. I have not drunk your health; I feared you might think health-drinking to be *vetitum nefas*; but I have asked God's blessing on you and yours, specially at that which I hope is an acceptable time, in God's House and at the hour of Holy Communion. My unworthy prayers may, I hope, be offered for me by Him who is all-worthy, and in whom the Father is well pleased. I must ever be grateful to you for all your loving help to me during the past ten years of my Winton episcopate. Having served for nearly half a century with my predecessors, you might have looked on me as an upstart, and looked coldly upon me. But I have ever found you the kindest and truest of friends. May it please God to preserve you yet to us as long as it can be a blessing to you to wait. And when waiting is over, may we meet where we need neither wait nor watch.

"Your ever most affectionate,

"E. H. WINTON."

Or, taken at hazard, and at very different points of his life, what could serve better than the following to shew the

care he took not to involve his clergy in needless outlay? At the first Ely Diocesan Conference the overflow clergy had to be billeted out, some in private houses, some in the inns. One rector, from the wilds of Cambridgeshire, arriving cold and wet at his hotel, called for "a brandy-and-water hot," and, when he asked for his bill the next evening, was told there was no bill, and that the Bishop defrayed all charges. Thereupon he was struck with terror. What if his Bishop's eye were to fall on that "brandy-and-water hot"? So he begged the landlord to let him pay for the extra, and wipe it out of the account.

And what could better describe the kindness and simplicity of his behaviour towards his clergy than the following, which I have from the clergyman to whom it occurred, the Rev. Telford Macdonough? After having been disestablished in Ireland, that gentleman undertook sole charge work in England. In one case the rector, a very old man, non-resident, demanded from him fifty pounds for some worn-out furniture in the house. Mr. Macdonough, however, had furniture enough of his own, and demurred to the charge, declining to buy what he did not want. To protect himself he appealed to his Bishop, asking him to hear the case and advise him. Thereupon Bishop Harold Browne made an appointment to see him at a convenient point, in a clergyman's house, at which he was staying for some episcopal work. It was a bitterly cold day, and the Bishop, feeling the cold, as he always did, "sat in the fire," and insisted that the curate should also draw his chair close to the blaze; and there they sat with their feet on the fender while Mr. Macdonough told his tale, and received in return some very good and kind words, with sensible advice.

"When I rose to take leave, the Bishop expressed his regret that the matter would have to end by my taking

other work. I was just two years younger than his Lordship, and said in reply that I had private means, and might very soon, being so well advanced in years, retire altogether from work. To this the Bishop replied, 'Oh! do not! If *you* cry out for rest, what ought we Bishops to do?'

"It was striking to see that, when the interview was over, instead of ringing the bell for the servant, the Bishop rose with me, accompanied me to the front door, and stood bidding me farewell in the cold breeze,—doing it no doubt both to spare trouble to the servants in another man's house, and perhaps also as an act of kindly feeling and generous sympathy towards an old curate in a moment of anxiety."

This lovely gift of sympathy pervaded all the Bishop's life, and gave it strength and weakness at once. It made his patronage a great trouble to him. He said once that he did not value his patronage in the least degree, except for the opportunity it afforded him of sometimes advancing a good man. Nay, his patronage was perhaps the heaviest burden he had to bear. He took great pains over it, and consulted those immediately around him, shewing himself very sensitive as to their opinion.

The same sensitiveness made him feel the reality of another world: coincidences, omens, dreams, ghosts, ever seemed to him substantive and true. When he had tidings in 1879 of the death of his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Barrington Browne, he writes:—

"It was very remarkable that about two hours after her death we were reading in our chapel service in the lesson for the day, 'The damsel is not dead, but *sleepeth*,' and next morning we received the telegram, 'Helen fell asleep last evening.' A similar coincidence happened to me twenty-two years ago, when my eldest daughter died at the age of sixteen. I had to read next morning in our family prayers, 'Weep not, she is not dead, but *sleepeth*.' The words are engraved on her coped coffin-tomb in Trumpington Churchyard."

He was an admirable teller of a ghost story, just because he had so much belief in it all, and had a fellow-feeling with the ghost, and felt that in his own case the boundaries between this present life and the larger world around might at any moment be overstepped. He delighted in the respectable ghosts attached to Farnham Castle.

"When strolling over the Castle," Mr. H. D. Cole writes, "the Bishop, pointing up to some winding stairs, said, 'This is the place where the ghost goes up and down ; but we have never seen it, though that room (pointing to one door) is my son's bedroom. But then he is a lawyer, and is not a bit afraid of it ; for ghosts don't like lawyers, because they always want to argue the point out with them, and a ghost's brains are rather weak ; nor indeed do they like curates, because they are sure to ask for subscriptions to the parish charities, and that puts a poor ghost at a sad disadvantage.'"

This was the good Bishop in his more playful and domestic life. And in his more public life also the same qualities were ever discernible. It was not by a masterful will that he governed. "He ruled," says Dr. Millard, "and ruled effectually, by the power of men's reverence and affection ;" and still more, as Dr. Millard notes in the same letter, by his eminent straightforwardness and simplicity of aim and character.

"I always regarded him as without exception the most fearless man I knew, simply by virtue of his singleness of heart. He could not see more than two courses, a right and a wrong, and never supposed the latter possible."

This was perhaps sometimes modified by his deference to the opinions of others, "whether," as Dr. Millard adds, "country squires or hereditary ecclesiastics," in which his Christian humility led him often to defer to the opinions of men far beneath him in power of judgment.

But the time has come for us to bid farewell to this noble

example of what a Christian gentleman and prelate ought to be. Nor do I think it can be done better than in the words of that veteran among lawyers and statesmen, the Earl of Selborne, who knew the Bishop intimately well, and felt for him a deep regard and affection.

"His conversation," says Lord Selborne, "was not so much about persons as about things which were of common interest to us; and, about these, was seldom or never controversial. We both had definite opinions, and sometimes strong feelings, about some of those religious and political questions by which men's minds are in our time divided; and I think that there was not much difference between his views of those questions and my own. But neither of us was inclined to speak much or freely in condemnation even of what we could not approve, or to exaggerate evils which we did not see our way to cure or effectually counteract. Hence, what was said between us on such subjects was rather by occasional allusion to them, with a feeling that we understood each other, and that there was an overruling as to all these things to which we might safely commit them, than in the way of discussion.

"What was most impressive in the Bishop at that time was his gentle wisdom, and the calm, charitable, and equable moderation of his judgments, and, although there might be some difference between the public manifestation of these qualities and the way in which they came out in his private and more intimate conversation, it was hardly such as to admit of being expressed in any definite form. In truth, his character was so modest and sincere, and so thoroughly real, that he was always consistent with himself; and private intimacy did but confirm the impression which must have been made upon all men by his manner of performing his public duties. The man in any high position most like him, of those I have known well, was Archbishop Howley."

With these appreciative words from one who felt the true beauty of the Bishop's character let us bring this sketch to an end. To have known Bishop Harold Browne has been to get an insight into the possible developments and capacities for good of our poor human nature,

when it is breathed on by the Spirit of God. For when that influence passes over the sympathetic chords of a good man's life, it wakens strange harmonies and strains of a more than earthly sweetness. To these, by some mysterious affinity, our souls respond ; and with hushed breath we listen and seem to hear the whisperings of Æolian memories from another world.

INDEX.

- ABERDEEN, American Bishops at, 467
 Abergwili, visits to, 88
 Abraham, first Bishop of Wellington, New Zealand, 9
 Act of Uniformity, 435
 Addington, visit to, 453
 Additional Curates Society, 261
 Address from six hundred clergy of Winchester diocese, 485
 "Aids to Faith," essay on Inspiration in, 209, 211, 212, 213, 242
 Airy, Professor, 27
 Aitkenite movement, 122
 Albury, 16, 17, 46
 Aldershot Ladies' Association, 486
 Allen, Joseph, Bishop of Ely, 44
 American Episcopal Church, 467
 Anderson, Rose, daughter of Mr., of Waverley Abbey, 460
 Andrewes, Lancelot, Bishop of Ely and of Winchester, 258, 286, 369, 388
 Anglican Bishops, gathering of, 445, 476
 — Church in Ireland, 378, 380, 384
 — Orders, 412
 Anglo-Continental Society, 182, 228, 229, 231, 407, 409, 413, 415, 445, 459, 476, 482
 Angoulême, Duchess of, 7
 Animals, devotion to, 499
 "Antichrist," a sermon, 156, 446, 461
 Apostolical succession, 58, 386
 Archbishop, Court of, for the Lincoln trial, 479, 480, 481
 Archdall, Dr., Master of Emmanuel, 37, 165
 Archdeaconry of Exeter, 233, 234
 Archdeacons of the Diocese of Ely, letters to the, on Dr. Temple's appointment, 324
 Archdeacons, the four in the Diocese of Ely, 269
 Arches, Court of, 370, 371
 Armstrong, Bishop of Grahamstown, 160
 Arnold, Dr., headmaster of Rugby, 8, 38, 39, 286, 448
 "Articles, Thirty-Nine, Exposition of," 81, 85, 462
 Athenæum Club, 501
 Atkinson, Archdeacon, 449
 Aylesbury, sermons at, 196, 363
 — the Prebendal House, birth at, 3, 4, 6
 BADEN POWELL, Mr., 209
 Baldhu, Incumbent of, 122
 Barnard, Hebrew teacher, 29
 Barnes, Mr. Ralph, Chapter clerk of Exeter, 186, 237

- Barnes Rev. Reginald, 127, 224, 235, 463, 464
- Barrington, Bishop of Durham, 4
- Honourable Mrs., Colonel Browne's first wife, 4
- Bath and Wells, Bishop of. *See* Hervey, Lord Arthur
- Baynes, Rev. Hamilton, consecrated Bishop of Natal and Zululand, 318
- Beaconsfield, Earl of, 497
- Bedford, archdeaconry of, farewell address from, 387
- conference at, 274
- parochial mission, 364
- Bennett, Rev. A., Vicar of St. Stephen's, Bournemouth, 475
- Mr., Vicar of St. Peter's, Bournemouth, 372, 447
- Benson, Bishop of Truro, afterwards Archbishop, 455, 457, 489
- Berkely, Rev. Sackville H., present Vicar of Heavitree, 192
- Bishops and Cathedrals, letter on, 354
- Blackmoor Vicarage, 483
- Blunt, Professor, 169, 228
- Bonn, conference of Old Catholics at, 409
- Bow Church, confirmation at, 397
- Bramley, girls' school at, 471
- Bramston, Dean of Winchester, 449
- Brianites, 121, 157
- Brigstock of Blaenpant, 88
- Browne, Edward Harold, birth and parentage, 3, 4, 5; marriage of, 62
- John, great-grandfather of the Bishop, 3
- John William Barrington, brother of the Bishop, 5, 36, 410
- Louisa, sister of the Bishop, 4
- Maria, sister of the Bishop, 5, 493
- of the Neale, 3
- Browne Harold C. Gore, Chancellor of the Diocese, 225, 226
- Rev. Barrington Gore, 460, 485
- Rev. Thirlwall Gore, 460, 491
- Rev. Robert Gore, 460
- Colonel Robert, father of the Bishop, 4
- Sarah Dorothea, mother of the Bishop, 36; letter from, 42; death of, 42
- Sir Anthony, standard bearer and executor of King Henry VIII., 3
- Thomas Gore (afterwards Governor of New Zealand), brother of the Bishop, 5
- Thomas, grandfather of the Bishop, 3
- Buckingham, Duke of, 7
- Marquis of, 4
- Palace, royal scene, 144
- Buckley, Rev. Joseph, 32
- Bull, Dr. John, Canon of Exeter, 237
- Burgess, Bishop of St. David's, 76
- Burgon, Dean of Chichester, 332, 333, 334
- Burnand, Mr., author of "Happy Thoughts," 177
- Burton, Dr., 485
- Bury St. Edmunds, conference at, 274
- Butler, Dr., Master of Trinity, 177
- George, Canon, 468
- Mrs. Josephine, 499
- Rev. W. J., Vicar of Wantage, afterwards Dean of Lincoln, 317
- CABRERA, Signor, 415
- Calcutta, Bishop's College, 65
- offer of headship, 65
- Cambridge, first impressions of, 167, 168
- Rural Deanery, 260
- speech at, 414

- Canons of Winchester, appointment of, 356
- Canterbury, Archbishop of. *See* Sumner, Tait, Benson
- Archbishopric of, 451, 452
- Cape Town, Bishop of. *See* Gray.
- Carlisle, Bishop of. *See* Goodwin.
- Congress, 446
- Carlyon, Dr., Mrs. Harold Browne's father, 62
- Elizabeth, marriage of Harold Browne to, 62
- General, of Tregrehan, 64
- Rev. Philip, 26, 32, 33, 500
- Carus, Rev. W., 47
- Cathedral Chapters, Bishop Henry of Exeter on, 194
- commission, 266
- patronage, 353, 356
- reform, address on, 354
- the, central point of the diocese, 350
- position of the Dean in, 351
- Cathedrals, old and new foundations, 352
- Chairmen of committees, 476.
- Channel Islands, 421, 443, 455, 474.
- Chapman, Bishop of Colombo, Harold Browne's tutor at Eton, 10, 11, 472
- Chapters, 444
- Charge, primary, 280, 281
- opinions of the Press on, 280
- Charges, 338, 364, 444, 445
- Chester, Jacobson, Bishop of, 153
- "Children's Charter," 460
- Christian Evidence Society, Bournemouth, 450
- Church Association, 477
- defence, 337, 385
- Defence Association, member of, 180
- education, 374
- of England, organisation of, 182
- Missionary Society, 405
- Claughton, T. L., Bishop of Rochester and of St. Albans, 39, 283, 366
- Clark, Sir Andrew, 485
- Cole, Mr., letters to, 505
- Colenso, Bishop of Natal, 160, 200, 201, 204, 216, 217, 218, 290, 291, 295, 296, 297, 300, 302
- Coleridge, S. T., 211
- Cologne, conference of Old Catholics at, 409
- "Commentary, Speaker's," writers in, 221-24
- Concurrent endowment, Bishop votes for, 375
- Conferences, Diocesan, 272, 274, 276, 277, 279, 443, 445, 476, 486, 496
- came into being, 259
- Conference Address, 1871, evils of intemperance, 339
- Confession, letter to a lady on, 431
- Confirmations, 443
- Congresses, Church, 270, 275, 279, 443, 445, 446, 466, 472
- Connecticut, Bishop Williams of, 250
- Consecration of Bishops, Westminster Abbey, 254
- Constantinople, consecration of church at, 184
- Convocation and Old Testament revisers, 469
- farewell speeches in, 489, 490
- influence of, 146, 147
- heretical books, 292
- proctor in, 142, 193, 239
- revival of address to the Queen from, 142, 144
- Cook, Canon of Exeter, 207, 220, 221, 223
- Cookson, Dr., Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, on losing the Bishop from the University, 389
- Cornwall, Assistant Bishop, 197

Court of Appeal, Archbishop's, 450
 Cranleigh, boys' school at, 471
 Cuddesdon, Theological College,
 195

DAVIDSON, R., Bishop of Rochester,
 489

Davies, Esther, marriage of, 86

Deaconesses, 358-62

— Home, Portsmouth, 483

Deaf and Dumb Mission, 470

Dean and Chapter, 265

Degrees, B.A., 28; M.A., 36

Denison, Archdeacon, 143, 291,
 292

"Diaconate and Lay Agency,
 Thoughts on Extension of," 159

Diocesan conferences. *See* Confer-
 ence.

— life, scheme of, 264

— Society, meeting of," 477

Diocese, size of the Winchester, 458

Disestablishment "a deplorable
 evil," 287

— and disendowment, 376, 377,
 378, 385

District visitors, 121

Döllinger, Dr. Von, 408, 409, 410,
 413, 414

Douglas, Canon, J. J., B.D., 83

Downall, Archdeacon, 197

Downing College, Cambridge, Fel-
 low and Tutor of, 37, 40

Dublin, Archbishop of, Lord Plun-
 ket, 415

Dundas, Canon, 20

Durham, Bishop of, 344. *See* Light-
 foot and Westcott.

Durst, Canon, Warden of Dea-
 coness' Home, Portsmouth, 362

EAST Anglian Bishops, yearly
 meeting of, 282, 283

Eastern Bishops, 183

— Churches, 184, 476

— Patriarchs, 365

Ecclesiastical Courts Commission,
 450, 481

Edge, Rev. William John, 40

Education, Diocesan Board of, 375

Elementary Education Act of 1870,
 374

Ellicott, C. J., Dean of Exeter,
 afterwards Bishop of Gloucester
 and Bristol, 221, 232

Elsdale, Rev. D., 442, 447

Ely, Bishop of, Harold Browne, 222

— Bishopric of, 247

— Dean of. *See* Goodwin

— Diocesan Conference, anecdote
 of, 503

— farewell to, 387, 390, 502

— ten years' work at, 258, 264

Emery, Archdeacon of Ely, 180, 340,
 389

Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 22,
 23, 24, 35, 37, 39, 60, 464, 465,
 466

"English Church, Position and
 Parties of the," a Pastoral, 424,
 425, 427

— Church Union, 437

Enthronement at Winchester, 397

Enys, Mrs., of Enys, visit to, 191

Episcopal Churches, 407

"Essays and Reviews," 196, 200,
 205, 320, 321, 324, 336

Established Church, advantages of
 an, 466

Eton, 3, 8, 10, 14, 182

Evans, Prebendary, 85

Exeter, Canonry of, 234, 333

— Deanery of, 199

— H. Philpotts, Bishop of. *See*
 Philpotts

— Salutory Place, 69

— St. James', Perpetual Curacy,
 69

— St. Sidwell's, 69

FAITHFUL, Master of Warfield
 School, 7

Farnham, present from, 489
 Farnham Castle, alterations made, 402
 — as a residence, 400
 — conference of Old Catholics and other Bishops, 413-15
 — ghosts at, 505
 — golden wedding celebrated at, 482
 — meetings at, 476
 Farquhar, Sir Walter, 404
 Father Felix, conversion of, 430
 Federation of Churches, 419
 Fellowship, Magdalen College, Oxford, 34, 35
 Fen Ditton, first sermon, 59
 Fraser, Bishop of Manchester, 459
 Fust, Sir Herbert Jenner, 135

GARTER, Prelate of the Order of, 488
 Ghost stories, 505
 Gibraltar, C. Sandford, Bishop of, 452, 453, 454, 467
 Girls' Friendly Society, 486
 Gladstone, W. E., Right Hon., M.P., 8, 139, 347, 348, 379, 383, 429, 455, 456, 457, 461, 485, 497, 498
 Gloucester and Bristol, Bishop of. *See* Ellicott
 Golden wedding, celebration of, 482
 Goodford, Dr., afterwards headmaster of Eton, 9
 Goodwin, Harvey, Dean of Ely, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, 250, 267, 268, 269, 292, 335, 467
 Gordon, General Charles, 462, 463, 464, 465
 — Miss, sister of General Gordon, 465
 Gorham, the case of, Vicar of Bramford Speke, 135, 136, 137
 Gostick, Mr., Wesleyan minister, 189
 Goulburn, Dean of Norwich, 267, 352, 354, 355

Graham, Dr., Master of Christ's College, 26
 Grahamstown, bishopric of, 160
 Grandchildren, 460
 Grant, Archdeacon, 183
 Graves, Hon. Henry, portrait by, 107
 Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, 160, 216, 296, 297, 298, 299, 308, 310.
 Greek Churches, 409
 Green, Mr., formerly M.P. for Bury St. Edmunds, letter to, 257
 Grote, Professor John, 26, 30
 Guernsey and Jersey, first visit to, 400
 Guest, Dr., Master of Caius, Vice-Chancellor, 170, 171
 Guiana, Bishop of, 415
 Guildford, Bishop of. *See* Utterton and Sumner

HALE, Rev. Matthew, Bishop of Perth, Western Australia, 32, 66, 195
 Hales, Rev. W., St. John's, Heywood, 153
 Hampden, Bishop of Hereford, 206
 Hampshire Diocesan Society, 470
 Hardie, Rev. John, 113, 114, 259
 Hardwick, Rev. C., Fellow of St. Catherine's, candidate for Norrisian Professorship, 165
 Harrison, Archdeacon, 145
 Haslam, Rev. William, 127, 129
 Hatherley, Lord Chancellor, 379, 382
 Hayne, Rev. R. J., Vicar of Buckland, 359
 Heavitree, 185, 187, 192, 233, 236, 237
 Hebrew Professorship, 91
 — Tyrwhitt Scholarship, 26, 29
 Heidelberg, illness at, 1835, 30, 34, 35
 Henry de Blois, Farnham Castle built by, 402

- Hervey, Lord Arthur, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, 9, 283, 320, 324, 328, 490
 Herzog, Dr. Edouard, first Bishop of the Swiss Christian Catholic Church, 413, 414, 415
 Higgins, C. Longuett, presents pastoral staff, 349
 Hogg, Rev. Lewis, 183, 409
 Holt, Rev. Robert, tutor at Postford, 15, 17.
 Hooker, Richard, born at Heavitree, 49, 52, 192
 Hort, Dr., 180
 Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury, 506
 Howson, Dean of Chester, 359
 Hughenden, Vicar for, 497
 Huntingdon, Conference at, 269
 Hyacinthe, Père, 409, 414, 415

 ILFRACOMBE, reading party at, 1834, 30, 34
 Indian bishoprics, 403
 Inverary, reading party, 1833, 30
 Irish Church disestablished, 287
 Isle of Wight, College, 448

 JACKSON, JOHN, Bishop of Lincoln and of London, 300
 — Rev. Frederick, Rector of Stanmore, 132, 156
 Jacob, Archdeacon, 468, 469, 502
 — Canon Edgar, 404, 406, 446, 447, 481
 Jacobson, Bishop of Chester, 221
 James, Rev. Walter, curate of Kenwyn, letter to, 122, 124
 Jayne, Dr., Principal of St. David's College, afterwards Bishop of Chester, 108
 Jeremie, Professor, 221, 254
 Jerusalem Chamber, Ritual Commission sits in, 367, 469, 472
 Jones, Enoch, letter from Lampeter, 87

 Jowett, B., Master of Balliol, 209
 Jubilee of H. M. the Queen at Winchester, 473
 Judicial Committee, judgment of, on the Colenso controversy, 293, 294

 KAISERWERTH, Deaconess' Home, 359
 Kaye, Dr., Bishop of Lincoln, 42
 Kean, Charles, 9, 10, 12, 13, 48
 Keate, Dr., Headmaster of Eton, 14, 15
 Keble, Rev. John, 496
 Kenwyn, 96, 102, 111, 112, 113, 187, 188, 189, 191, 235, 474
 — and Kea, institution to, 111, 112
 King, Bishop of Lincoln, 477, 478, 480
 King's College, Cambridge, 472
 Kingsley, Rev. Charles, 396
 Kitchin, Dean of Winchester, 192, 403, 487, 492

 LAHORE, Bishopric of, 404
 Lambeth Conferences, 182, 301, 416, 476, 481
 Lampeter, St. David's College, 36, 76, 77, 79, 81, 83, 94, 97, 106, 108, 252
 Laymen, House of, 147
 Lay readers, 357
 Lee, Dr. Samuel, Regius Professor of Hebrew, 34
 Leighton, Archbishop, 286
 Lewellin, Dr., Dean of St. David's, Principal of St. David's College, 79, 94, 97, 108
 Liddon, Canon, 415, 438
 Lightfoot, Professor, afterwards Bishop of Durham, 180, 222, 250, 281, 397
 Lincoln, Bishop of. *See* Wordsworth and King
 Littledale, Dr., letter from, 314
 Llandewi Velfrey, 90

- Llandoverly school, 92
 London, Bishop of. *See* Tait, Jackson, and Temple
 Long *versus* Bishop of Cape Town, 297
 Longley, Bishop of Ripon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, 247
 Louis XVIII. at Hartwell, 6, 7
 Lowe, Dean of Exeter, 152, 185, 237
 Lucas, Canon, 478, 479, 481
 Lycurgus, Archbishop of Syra, 27
- MACDONOUGH, Rev. Telford, 503
 Mackenzie, Bishop, 318
 MacLagan, Archbishop of York, 178, 492
 Macrorie, Rev. W. R., Vicar of Ac-rington, 317
 ——— consecrated bishop in Natal and Zululand, 318
 Magee, Bishop of Peterborough, 283, 399, 400, 433, 469
 Manchester, Bishop of. *See* Fraser.
 Mar Gregorius, 415
 Maritzburg, Bishop of, 467
 ——— Dean of, 299, 317
 Marriott, Charles, of Oriel, 180
 Martin, Chancellor of Exeter, 186
 Maurice, Rev. F. D., 211, 496
 McCaul, Dr., 222
 McColl, Canon, 429
 McDougall, Bishop, 7, 288, 318, 346, 393, 394, 395, 396, 446, 447, 454, 456
 McNeile, Rev. Hugh, Rector of Al-bury, 17, 18, 19, 20
 Medley, John, Bishop of Frederic-ton, New Brunswick, 73
 Melbourne, Bishop of, 410
 Melvill, Canon of St. David's, 106
 Merivale, Dean of Ely, 354
 Merriman, Dr., on lectures, 179
 Meyrick, Rev. Frederick, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, now Rector of Blickling, Norfolk, 230, 415, 453
 Meyrick, James, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, 230
 Middleton, Lord, 469
 Millard, Dr., Rector of Basingstoke, 39, 422, 438, 439, 505
 Missionary bishops, 405
 "Mission, Book of the," by the Cowley Fathers, 429
 ——— Great Towns, 486
 ——— parochial, at Bedford, 364
 Missions, foreign, work in St. Sid-well's, Exeter, 133
 Modern School, Winchester, 449
 Moravian Orders, 416
 ——— Episcopate, 476
 Morell's, Mr., "Philosophy of Reli-gion," 212
 Mortlock, Mr. Charles, at Emman-uel, 39, 40
 Morton House, near Buckingham, residence of Colonel Browne, 36
 Morton Shaw, Rev., Rector of Rougham, 335
 Mothers' Union, 471, 472, 486
 Mowbray, Right Hon. Sir John, Bart., M.P., 70
 Munck, Miss Ebba, 475
 Murray, Mr. J., 221, 222
- NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, 5, 6
 Natal. *See* Colenso
 Newcastle, Bishop of. *See* Wilber-force
 New College, Oxford, 447
 Newman, Dr., afterwards Cardinal, 50, 469
 Newnham Cottage, Cambridge, 167
 New Testament Revision, 470
 New Zealand, Bishop of. *See* Selwyn.
 ——— Sir Thomas Gore Browne, Governor of, 196
 Nobody's Club, 500
 Norrisian prize essay, 29

- Norrisian Professorship, 102, 165,
166, 224
- North, Archdeacon of Cardigan, 82,
106
- Norwich, Bishop of. *See* Pelham
— Dean of. *See* Goulburn
- ŒCUMENICAL Council, 287
- Old Catholics, 408, 410, 411, 412,
416
— — Conference of, 409
— Kea, 116
— Testament Revisers, 469, 470
- Ollivant, Daniel, factotum, 86
— Dr., V.-P. of St. David's College,
afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, 78
- Ordination, First, 261, 446
— last in Winchester Cathedral,
487
- Owen, Rev. L. M., 433
— Canon Mansfield, 470
- Oxford, Bishop of. *See* Wilberforce
and Stubbs
— teaching, 118
— writers, 51, 54
- PALMERSTON, Lord, 248, 249, 457
- Pan-Anglican Synod, Lambeth, 304,
445
- Papal aggression, sermon on, 154
- Pares, Mr. John, 435
- Parish Councils, 279, 280
- Parker, J. W., publisher, 157
- Pastoral of 1875, 422, 427, 429
— staff, presented by C. Longuet
Higgins, Esq., 348-50
- Peacock, Dean of Ely, Prolocutor,
145
- Pearce, Mr. R. A., ordained Deacon
for deaf and dumb, 470
- Pelham, Bishop of Norwich, 282
- Pembroke College, Dr. Carlyon
Fellow of, 62
- Pentateuch and Elohistic Psalms,
five lectures on, 217, 219
- Pentateuch, the, and Book of
Joshua, lectures on, 216, 242
- Perowne, J. J. Stewart, 222
- Peterborough, Bishop of. *See*
Magee
- Phillimore, Sir R., 371, 429
- Phillips, Sir Thomas, 90, 93
- Philpotts, Henry, Bishop of Exeter,
71, 102, 103, 136, 255, 321
— Rev. T., old schoolfellow, 191
- Piper, Count, Swedish Ambassador,
474
- Plate, curious church, 16th Century,
at Kea, 113
- Plymouth, Congress, 446
- Portsea, St. Mary's, consecration of,
481
- Portsmouth Congress, 446, 472
- Postford House, school, 16, 46
- Pretoria, Bishop of, 415
- Primacy, the, 456
- Privy Council, Judicial Committee,
370, 372
- Professor, Norrisian, elected, 166
— lectures of, 166
- Professorship, Lady Margaret, 170,
173, 175
- Public Worship Act, 399, 443, 445
- Pupil teachers, "Harold Browne"
prizes for, 389
- Purchas and Ridsdale cases, 370,
371, 436
- Pusey, Dr., 51, 212, 438
- Quarterly Review*, 242
- QUEEN, Her Majesty the, 456, 457,
482, 488, 489
- RANGOON, bishopric of, founded,
404, 406
- Reading Congress, 446
- Rebecca riots, Lampeter, 80
- Reinkens, Bishop, Old Catholic, 413
- Reservation of the Elements, letters
on, 432

- Resignation of the See of Winchester, 486
- Revision of the Old Testament, chairman of committee of, 347, 348, 469, 470
- Ripon, See of, 247
- Ritual Commission, 367
- conference on, 432
- Roberts, Bishop Cramer, 459
- Rochester, Bishop of. *See* Cloughton, Thorold, and Davidson
- Rollo, Agnes, daughter of Lord, 460
- Romilly, Lord, Master of the Rolls, 293, 294
- Rose, Rev. H. J., Archdeacon of Bedford, 170, 328, 329, 330, 331
- Rugby, Examiner at, 38, 39
- Rural deans, 269, 270
- Rushden Hall, near Higham Ferrers, 36
- "SACRIFICE, Altar, Priest," six letters to a friend, 367, 368
- Sadlerian lectureship, 37
- St. Albans, Bishop of. *See* Cloughton
- St. Athanasius' Paschal Epistles, translation from the Syriac, 181
- St. David's, Bishop of. *See* Thirlwall
- Cathedral, Prebend in, 90
- St. Etheldreda, twelve hundredth anniversary at Ely, 387
- St. George, Guild of, 486
- St. John's College, Cambridge, 169, 170
- St. Mary Overy as the Cathedral Church for South London, 424
- St. Peter's, Bournemouth, 447
- St. Stephen's, Bournemouth, marriage of Prince Oscar in, 475
- St. Swithun, 482
- Salisbury, Bishop of, on the Old Catholics; 414
- Marquis of, 405
- Salmon, Professor, 409
- Sapte, Archdeacon, 471
- Scandinavian and Anglican communion, 476
- Scholarships: Emmanuel, Crosse, Tyrwhitt, 28, 29, 43
- School Board system, 374, 375
- Schools, public, 225, 227, 240
- Scottish bishops, 317
- Screen in Winchester Cathedral, 492
- Scrivener, Dr., collation of Greek manuscripts, 167
- Seabury, Dr., first American bishop, centenary of consecration, 467
- Sedgwick, Professor, 26, 168
- Selborne, Earl of, 379, 435, 437, 440, 483, 506
- Select preacher, Cambridge, 241
- Selwyn, G. A., Bishop of New Zealand, afterwards of Lichfield, 9, 27, 228, 305
- — — Professor William, Canon of Ely, 170, 222, 268
- Senate, Grace of, Cambridge University, 175
- Sewell, William, 118
- Shaftesbury, Lord, 366
- Shales, near Southampton, 489, 491, 492
- Sharp, Rev. John, 24
- Simeon, Rev. C., 47, 496
- Sister Emma, head deaconess of Portsmouth House, 362
- Smith, W. H., Right Honourable, M.P., 481
- Southampton and the Channel Islands, 458, 459
- Southampton Mission, 429
- Southey, Robert, on the revival of Deaconesses, 359
- Southsea, Eagle Tower, 485
- Southwark, Diocese of, 474
- Sparke, Dr., Bishop of Ely, 41, 43, 44
- "Speaker's Commentary," 242
- Harold Browne asked to take part in, 220
- S. P. G., 180, 404

- Stanley, Dean, 218, 288, 312, 314, 316, 317
 Steward, G., M.P., of Nottingham, grandfather of the Bishop, 4
 Steward, Sarah Dorothea, mother of the Bishop, 4, 13, 31, 36
 Stowe, visit to, 7
 Stroud, Holy Trinity district, Gloucestershire, 66, 68
 Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, 490
 Suffragan Bishops, 345, 347, 458, 459, 477
 Sumner, Archbishop, 144, 304
 ——— Archdeacon, afterwards Bishop of Guildford, 449, 477, 480, 486
 ——— Bishop of Guildford, Louisa, daughter of, 460
 ——— Bishop of Winchester, 396, 400, 457
 ——— Chancellor, 435
 ——— Mrs., 471
 Surplice question, the, at Exeter, 73
 Surrey, West, 474
 Swansea Congress, 446
 Sweden, H. M. the Queen of, 475
 ——— marriage of Prince Oscar of, 474
 Swedish Church, 416, 476
 Switzerland—1835, 30
 Synod held by Henry, Bishop of Exeter, 138
 Synods, diocesan, 271, 275, 276, 434, 435, 438, 440
 Syra, Archbishop Lycurgus of, 27, 408, 413

 TAIT, A. C., Archbishop of Canterbury, 201, 288, 300, 303, 304, 305, 396, 451, 453, 454
 Taunton, Archdeacon of. *See* Denison
 Temple, Cowper, Mr., 434; afterwards Lord Mount Temple, 468
 Temple, Dr., Headmaster of Rugby, afterwards Bishop of Exeter and of London, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 329, 490
 Tennessee, Bishop of, letters to, on the Natal Question, 305
 Tennyson, Lord, 25, 473
 Theological College, Exeter, 185, 232
 Thirlwall, C., Bishop of St. David's, 83, 93, 105, 137, 151, 213, 304, 305, 469
 "Thirty-Nine Articles, Exposition of the," 81, 148, 149, 150
 Thomson, Archbishop of York, 209, 319
 Thorold, A., Bishop of Rochester and Winchester, 478, 487, 489
 Thorp, Archdeacon, Rector of Kemerton, 252
 Tindal, Mr. Acton, Aylesbury, 363
 Tozer, Bishop, 318
 "Tracts for the Times," 50, 117
 Training College, Chelsea, offer of headship, 65
 ——— for Welsh clergy, 93
 Tregavethan, hamlet in parish of Kenwyn, 111, 112, 132
 Tregrehan, Cornwall, 62
 Trench, Dean, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, 168, 221
 Trevor, Canon, letter on the pastoral of 1875, 428
 Trinity, Master of, 29
 Tripos, classical, 26, 28
 ——— mathematical, 26, 28
 Trower, Bishop, 184, 250
 Trumpington churchyard, 504
 Truro, Bishop of. *See* Benson
 ——— Cathedral, consecration of, 191, 474
 Tupper, Martin, 16, 20, 21
 Turton, Bishop of Ely, 247, 472

 UNIVERSITY for Wales, 93
 ——— Press, 167
 ——— reform, 447
 University Students' Guide, 241

- Utterton, Bishop Suffragan of Guildford, 398, 448, 458
- VISITATION, cathedral, 444
— charge, 262, 340, 444
- WALPOLE, Spencer, Home Secretary, 139
- Waltham Abbey Church, sermon preached at, 196
- Warburton, Canon, 487
- Warfield, first school, 7
- "Watchers and Workers," 486
- Watts, F.R.A., portrait by, 389
- Webley Parry, Miss, 88
- Wellington, first Bishop of. *See* Abraham
- Wesley, John, 286
- Wesleyans at Kenwyn, 287
- Wessex and Winchester, eighty-third Bishop of, 494
- Westbury, Lord, 297
- Westcott, B. F., Bishop of Durham, 344
- West End Cemetery, 494, 498
- Western New York, Bishop of, 415
- Westminster Abbey, consecration in, 254
- Whately, Bishop, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, 286
- Whewell, Dr., Master of Trinity, 168, 171
- White Cross League, 468
- Whitfield and Wesley, 496
- Wilberforce, E., Bishop of Newcastle, 422
- Wilberforce, S., Bishop of Oxford and of Winchester, 142, 195, 206, 255, 299, 379, 421, 422, 472, 305
- Williams, Archdeacon of Llandoverly, 95
— Bishop of Connecticut, 250
— Rev. George, Fellow of King's, 9
— Rev. Rowland, Vice-Principal of St. David's College, 109, 136, 204
- Winchester, appointment to, 393
— Bishop of. *See* Sumner, Wilberforce, Thorold
— Bishopric vacant, 489
— Dean of. *See* Kitchin
— Diocese, 422
— House, London, suggested sale of, 401
— Natives' Society, 466
— Mayoralty, 700th Anniversary, 466
— *See* of, accepted, 387
- Wolsey Palace, Winchester, as a residence, 402
- Women's work in the Church, 358
- Wordsworth, Christopher, Bishop of Lincoln, 183, 220, 283, 366, 415
- Working men, addresses to, 472
- Wykeham, William of, 448, 482
- YORK, Maclagan, Archbishop of, 418
— Thomson, Archbishop of, 209, 319, 457
- Young Men's Friendly Society, 486

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